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ZERI I POPULLIT VIEWS CASE FOR KOSOVO REPUBLIC

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["The Demand 'Kosovo a Republic' Can Be Silenced Neither With Violence Nor with Pointless Theorizing"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 12 Sep (ATA)--We are giving below the article published today in the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT", organ of the Central Committee of the PLA, under the title "The Demand 'Kosovo a Republic' Can Be Silenced Neither With Violence Nor With Pointless Theorizing" written by Arber Korabi in reply to the newspaper "BORBA":

The events of March-April this year posed with particular acuteness a major problem of principle--that of the constitutional position of Kosovo and, in general, of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia within the framework of the federation. The slogan "Kosovo a Republic" also previously put forth in various ways, now has caught on the broad masses of people. Now it has come out in the open, is spoken about loudly, is found in the leaflets and calls in the squares and streets of the cities, in the lanes of the villages, on the walls of the schools and public buildings, everywhere in the region. In vain the mobile squads of "territorial defence" make haste to silence it and cover it up, it appears again and again, despite the mounting terror. And, what is the main thing, it has now struck deep roots in the hearts and minds of the people who make up the overwhelming majority of the population.

The months that have gone by since last spring have shown that the demand "Kosovo a Republic" is real and topical, a demand which cannot be ignored. Whether the great-Serbs want to accept it or not, it is becoming one of the most burning problems in the internal life of Yugoslavia. As a problem tabled for discussion, it has won the right of citizenship. It is no longer a taboo. And taking into account the extent and the vigour of the movement, we can say with full conviction that it will not get off the order of the day until it is given its most correct solution.

"Kosovo a Republic" before being an aspiration is an expression of protest. It is a powerful protest of a population of two million which now is not only aware of its numbers, size, but also of the justness of its cause. It is the voice of a population that has a long experience of suffered persecutions and ill-treatment, along with a brilliant tradition of indomitable and proud resistance. Its message, which by now is spread all over the world, is simple and clear: It will not allow itself to be trampled underfoot, it will not allow itself to be treated as an inferior race as compared with the other nations and nationalities comprising the federation. A necessary step towards the achievement of equality is the realization of the demand "Kosovo a Republic".

The Yugoslav press, whether of the republics or the federation, tried for a long time to minimize this slogan, or to ignore it. Everybody remembers the contempt and disdain with which it was initially met in Belgrade and elsewhere. The events in Kosovo were almost described as an act of more rebellion, a brutal explosion of the unconscious mob in the streets without a clear motive or purpose. The fables on the "retrogressive and destructive spirit" of the Albanian were extensively circulated in an attempt to justify the bloody counter-attack of the police.

It is another proof of the strength of the movement, of its maturity, of the vitality of its demand if the people in the leading staff of the anti-Albanian propaganda are forced to make an about-turn today. Along the grave reprisals taken against the demonstrators in Kosovo and in the context of the whole propaganda campaign that accompanies the punitive action in Kosovo, attempts are being made to favour an "ideo-political differentiation" by explaining "why Kosovo cannot become a republic".

Precisely this is the general title under which "BORBA", central organ of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, has recently published a series of articles, with which we may say it gives up a kind of "distant" stand, "from above" and "from afar" regarding the events of Kosovo, trying at the same time to give us an analysis and synthesis.

The articles have been entrusted to the pen of the publicist Jovan Bajcevic, who takes great pains over whole pages, to answer a question raised not only in Kosovo, but by the broad world opinion: why Kosovo cannot become a republic, which are the reasons that impel the Yugoslav leadership to be so stubborn in its persistent rejection of a demand, which if not in the letter, is undoubtedly in the spirit of the Constitution of Yugoslavia (of course if they take this Constitution seriously).

The first thing that draws one's attention while reading this material is that while previously they did not even condescened to mention this question now at least they are compelled to discuss it, to argue it. The central organ of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia itself is dealing with it.

Second, it is apparent that these articles claim to be more than mere publicistic materials, they are presented as a kind of supposed-scientific study in a theoretical-doctrinaire treatment, in which political, economic, juridical, ethnic, psychological factors are brought together to reject the demand "Kosovo--a Republic".

What characterizes the articles of "BORBA" in particular, the main idea which pervades them from end to end, is the thesis that the national question in post-war Yugoslavia has found its most correct and most complete solution, that moreover the Yugoslav Federation constitutes an unprecedented example in this respect, a model unattained so far in the world. Somewhere, Rajceic delivers the challenge: "Is there in general in the world today, either in the East or in the West, or in the so-called developing countries another case of treatment of the national question coming near to that of Yugoslavia?"

So, the first and more general explanation given "why Kosovo cannot be a republic" is that the national question is not raised in Yugoslavia today, because it has long been solved, that the events in Kosovo are but an "accident in the process" which cannot upset the harmony of the "community", the atmosphere of "unity-fraternity" that reigns in the relations among the peoples and nations of Yugoslavia. This implies that the action of the Albanians of Kosovo is an utterly isolated and discordant phenomenon, is a "nonsense" as against the whole picture of peace among nations realized in the federation. Foreign press reports point out that in the public opinion in Yugoslavia a psychosis accusing the Albanians is being created and cultivated: they have become the target of attacks and are pointed at as the main source, if not the only one of all the evils that have befallen Yugoslavia at this stage.

This global assessment is given as a postulate, as an absolute truth. On the basis of the formal logic this must exclude any discussion on the national question in Kosovo. It is not our intention here to go at length about a problem which concerns the whole of Yugoslavia as a federation. We have had and have our opinion and position, we have stated and state that Yugoslav revisionism gives no basis either in theory or in practice for a sound handling of the national question. Initiated and crystallized as a profound distortion of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the broadest plane it could not fail ending bankrupt in this field, too. In reality the national policy in Titoite Yugoslavia has never been established on sound foundations, on solid principles pervaded by socialist ideals. It has been a policy inspired by pragmatism, a policy of passing circumstances, of balancing international contradictions and quarrels. This is why rivalries among the different nations and Slav and non-Slav ethnic groups are among the most characteristic features of the internal life of the Yugoslav Federation. This has frequently led to clamorous developments such as the fall of Rankovic in 1966 and the purges of the 70's in the two more important republics--Serbia and Croatia. All these shattering explosions have been underlined by the national problem. The boasts of "BORBA" that in this field, "the development of Yugoslavia has proceeded normally and without upheavals" convince nobody.

What is more important--and our greatest attention will necessarily be concentrated here--is that the main operations for the "solution of the national question" in post-war Yugoslavia, the various deals and concessions have been made to the detriment of the Albanian nationality.

Its fundamental rights have been sacrificed on "the altar of peace among the nations" of the Yugoslav Federation. Nothing else brings better to the fore the real nature of the national policy of Titoite Yugoslavia. The Albanians and the territories inhabited by them have been used as pawns in the unprincipled game to placate the quarrels among the Slav republics. The later developments are known, but repetition is the best remedy against short and labile memories. The greater part, the trunk--Kosovo--was left under the wing of Serbia, whereas the rest--the branches--were divided between Macedonia and Montenegro. The opinion and will of the Albanians was taken into no consideration whatsoever.

The Albanians, on both sides of the border, have always adhered to a consistent line. They did not fall for the trap of "great Albania" of fascist brand, they believed in the ideals of the national-liberation war, in the principle of self-determination of nations and, on this basis, at Bujan, in December 1943-January 1944, the Albanians of that side demanded in the proper form and from the proper instance their union with Albania as a right won through their struggle. In the meeting with Comrade Enver Hoxha in 1945, Tito himself stated that Kosovo is Albanian. But it turned out soon that, in the course of the national liberation war, the recognition on the part of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia of the principle of self determination up to secession for the people of Kosovo was in fact, and this was shown by the course of events, a mere question of tactic. Nor was the variant of the "worker-peasant" republic of Kosovo forwarded as early as 1940 by such a figure of the CPY as Mosa Pijade, accepted. The solemn statements and pledges were forgotten and Kosovo, after its separation from the Albanian trunk, was again fragmented within the Yugoslav Federation.

During all these months rumours have been heard that the granting of the status of a republic to Kosovo spells the undermining of the Yugoslav Federation to its foundations, that such a thing would put in question the very federative structures. In this case, the reasoning develops along constitutional juridical lines, and on this basis the demand "Kosovo-A Republic" has been described as illegitimate and anti-constitutional.

"BORBA" repeats more or less the same apocalyptical forecasts. Rajcevic also speaks about a great "confusion" that allegedly would follow in the Yugoslav federative system if this demand of the Albanian population was accepted. But how is it possible to reject on serious ground, a just demand only on the basis of formal juridical arguments? The Yugoslav Federation, with its internal divisions and subvisions, has been set up without the participation of the Albanian population. The Yugoslav leaders and their propaganda cannot provide even a single document that implies the authentic expression of the will of the Albanians in the various stages of the creation of federative Yugoslavia, either during the national-liberation war (in the meeting of the Avnoj at the end of 1943 not only the Albanians were not asked to participate, but also were not mentioned altogether), or after the war, when the finishing touches were given to the federative structure. The only act that regards the Albanians is the decision of Bujan, regardless of the fact that the great-Serbs today might call it "an unhappy episode", even a black stain in the history of their national-liberation war. Consequently, even if the question is examined from a rigorously formal standpoint, here we have to do with a "juridical vice" in the process of the creation of the federation in that part that has to do with the rights of the Albanian population, a "vice" which rules out any responsibility of this population for everything that has been decided in connection with it in the various stages and levels. Or perhaps "BORBA" refers to the "legality" of the Yugoslavia of Krajls in order to underrate the demand of the Albanians to change their status in the present-day Yugoslavia!

There is a clear tendency on the part of the Yugoslav propaganda in general, to raise before the demand for "Kosovo-A Republic" some difficulties of the constitutional nature, which are deliberately exaggerated beyond all measure. This might appear as a comfortable refuge, but is totally unreliable. Here the problem is presented inversely, with common sense, the premise of the reasoning in this case should be: whether the demand is just and not whether eventual obstacles might crop up to the putting of this demand in practice. With good will, obstacles can be overcome. And next, why make a formal-juridical fetish of constitutional acts?

Constitutions, in their quality of fundamental acts, are not unchangeable for all time. There is no constitution in the world, which parallel with the main dispositions, does not stipulate respective procedures for the necessary amendments and complements. The constitution of the Yugoslav Federation is not an exception from the case. The Yugoslav Federation has in its foundation an injustice which has been made to the Albanian population, therefore the question is raised about the essence of the matter, and considerations of procedure are not valid. The Albanians cannot tolerate the burden of the combinations that have been made to their detriment in the past. In presenting their demand the Albanians proceed by no means from a mere desire to break off the Yugoslav constitutional framework, their aim is to regain their right. The conclusion is reached automatically: the authors of these combinations should solve the difficulty by finding correct solution to the national question of Kosovo, by recognizing it the status of a republic, as equal member in the Yugoslav Federation.

One reason which has frequently been mentioned in order to oppose the demand "Kosovo-A Republic" is also that of "specific autonomy", which is described as a unique phenomenon, "unprecedented in the political-juridical theory and practice". In order to add conviction to the phrase, they add forthwith that "Indeed, the Kosovo region is a part of the Republic of Serbia", but at the same time it is also "a constituent element of the federation" with some rights which "compare with those of the republics". Upon this, a long list of posts and responsibilities which may be assumed by members of the Albanian nationality (of course selected ones) in all the state structures, on a republic and federative scale, is drawn. Naturally, all this has been calculated to make an impact on the naive, in the hope that the public opinion will swallow such transparent tricks.

They speculate here with the so-called "constituent federative element" a mere declarative and formal phrase that does not affect the essence, that is, leaves unchanged the position of Kosovo, that consists not in the political and state autonomy, but in the administrative autonomy. The Kosovo region today, within the system of the federation, is also juridically a subordinated component part of the Serbian Republic. No doubt, the administrative autonomy which Kosovo has today is an achievement, the fruit of the efforts and struggle of the population of Kosovo against the centralizing tendencies which have always aimed to reduce it into a mere unit in the internal territorial division. However, it always remains administrative autonomy, the limits of which not only are conditioned on the main prerogatives, which belong to the republic and the federation (and never to the autonomous region), but may be changed according to the circumstances, the pressures exercised by this or that trend which gains the supremacy in the political life.

It comes as no astonishment that in the innumerable meetings of the state and party forums of all levels, in the chorus of the recriminations against the "concessions" which allegedly have been made to the Kosovo population, various contributors, spokesmen of the big-Serb chauvinist clan, have raised their voice loudly about the re-examination and axing of this autonomy. And now, from words they are going over to deeds. The big-Serb chauvinism is hitting with the big stick. An aspect of the repressive policy terror, legal proceedings and administrative measures, mass dismissal and sackings. Another aspect, no less important, is the attack on a broad front on the educational, cultural and scientific achievements of the Kosovo region especially during these recent 10 years. "BORBA" does not fail to mention these achievements as testimony to the importance of this autonomy, as proof of its value for the affirmation of the Albanian population. But its words sound as a cynical mockery today when the Pristina University, the schools, the scientific and cultural institutions have come under attack, when a general offensive is developing against the values of national history and culture. Under the pretext of the fight against "the myths of the past" and "national romanticism" a campaign is being carried out on a broad scale with the ultimate aim of depriving the people of Kosovo of their history, of denying the Albanians their national identity, of merging them with the Slav mass. A strong tendency to return to the policy of assimilation is cropping up, although it has brought along nothing, but failures and even upheavals.

The attempt of "BORBA" to present the events of Kosovo as the result of a deviation from the official policy, deviation attributed to the so-called "national bureaucracy" of the region, is ridiculous. Thereby they mean the stratum of Albanian employees of local, state and non-state structures, who, still according to "BORBA", assisted by "an intelligentsia of pronounced nationalist tendencies", have allegedly allowed and even incited a process of departure from "the socialist community" which has ended in self-isolation within the narrow national shell. No, gentlemen of "BORBA", such mystifications do not work. The course pursued in regard to the Albanian population has been well-studied, defined long ago and with full conscience in the highest Yugoslav instances. This course was linked with some "short and long range" aims both towards the Albanian population in Yugoslavia (as an element of the political calculations in the internal life of that country) and in relation to the independent Albanian state which was eventually to fall, like a ripe fruit into the Yugoslav "basket." The supreme Yugoslav leadership may have been taken by surprise by the concrete results of this policy, but not by the fact of the implementation of this policy which it had formulated in all possible detail. Nothing has been done in the region of Kosovo without the knowledge of the organs of the central state power in Belgrade. One example suffices, even the conference on the occasion of the centenary of the League of Prizren, to which the Yugoslav press is now returning to give it a certain scandalous coloring, had been given the green lights by the supreme federal organs. "BORBA" is silent on this account and puts the blame on a certain "national bureaucracy" which has allegedly misused the "specific autonomy". The truth today is like this: this policy has undergone a radical revision which has two main characteristics: on the one hand, attack on the achievement of the Albanians and on the other, a free hand to the revanche of the chauvinist - big Serb current.

In search of arguments to reject the demand "Kosovo - A Republic" as theoretically groundless and practically unrealisable, "BORBA" attacks it by claiming that it implies what it calls "a vertical relationship of all the members of the Albanian nationality" in Yugoslavia whatever the place they live in. The question is about a state "relationship" which would be extended not only to the population of Kosovo in its actual borders as an autonomous region, but also to all the Albanians wherever they live, even those dispersed in the other republics of the Yugoslav Federation. This would be, "BORBA" adds, a political organization according to the principle of nationality and not the principle of territory which is the basis for all proper organization of state life. Here the newspaper of Belgrade thinks that it has carried the day by alluding to the struggle Lenin waged in his time against the attempt of the Bund to come out as a representative centre of all the Jewish workers of Russia basing itself precisely on the principle of "vertical national relationship". First, one cannot fail to ask: as the demand "Kosovo - A Republic" is turned down wholesale, why should one bother to discuss some of its supplementary aspects, some of its future implications? When the head is cut, what is the use of the limbs? Second, although the Leninist legacy has undergone the most unbelievable distortions at the hands of the Yugoslav revisionists, still their courage is astonishing when they want to produce Lenin as a witness to justify an act of national repression. And whom? Lenin, who was a passionate defender of the smaller peoples and who mercilessly flogged, first of all "his own" big-Russian bourgeoisie.

As to the essence of the question, this is a gross falsification, an outright crying deception. Nor can the problem of the Albanians in Yugoslavia be compared with that of the Jews of the time of Tsarist Russia. Nor does the demand "Kosovo Republic" bears any remote resemblance with the Bund's claims for the unification of all Jews in a "vertical national relationship." At that time the Jewish workers were scattered in various regions of the Russian Empire, whereas the Albanian population in Yugoslavia is compact not only from the ethnic, but also from the territorial viewpoint. The territories inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia constitute, on the whole, a natural territorial integrity. Geography speaks in favour of the demand of the Albanians. Whereas "BORBA" sees the greatest "danger" precisely here because the "republic of" would lead "the territorial concentration of the Albanian nationality" in Yugoslavia under a "single umbrella" and, this would bring about the separation of some territories (inhabited by an Albanian population) from Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia, which would join "the compact Albanian regions".

But can there be any more correct and reasonable demand: Why should the Albanians of Yugoslavia be distributed under three different "umbrellas" and not unite under a single "umbrella", that of their republic, always within the Yugoslav federation? And now, they raise before us, the existing territorial division within this federation as another unsurmountable obstacle. The remark made above in regard to the status of the region holds good also for the territorial division: This division has been done regardless of the Albanian population. After the war, it was proclaimed that the new administrative division of liberated Yugoslavia would be done on the basis of the national criterion. But as regards the Albanian population this criterion was trampled on with both feet. The territory inhabited by the Albanians was distributed amongst three republics and one autpnomous region. This was done for two main aims: first, it would make a concession in favour of the concept of "great Serbia", and would create the conditions for a policy of oppressing and assimilating the Albanians. Second, the territories inhabited by the Albanian population would be utilized to give a demographic and territorial consistency to two smaller republics--Montenegro and Macedonia. Thus, this slicing -up operation, too, is an integral part of the pragmatic policy which was adopted to overcome the which was adopted to overcome the contradictions that emerged in the domain of the national question. Here, too, the Albanian population was condemned to pay the bill for these combinations. But these are not given once and fore good, they are not unchangeable. This is a matter of political will and not of difficulties of a constitutional nature.

In more than one case, after the events of Kosovo, some circles in Yugoslavia have chosen Western press organs to express in "confidence" some of their most "intimate" feelings and opinions on these problems. The newspaper "LE MONDE", which has already become a regular spokesman of the Yugoslav chauvinist views atrracts special attention. Recently it published a writing by its correspondent in Belgrade, P. Jankovic, of Serb nationality. As a good Serb, this journalist has totally aligned himself with the ultra-extremist positions of the big-Serb flank, and the French newspaper unreservedly gives him its tribune, renouncing its "vocation" of defending the rights of man on a world scale. Right from the start, Jankovic dwells on the problem of the status of a Kosovo and reports on the "clear cut, definite" answer that has been given in Belgrade to this question. Kosovo, he adds, "will never gain" the position of the republic in the Yugoslav Federation.

The explanation given for this categoric refusal, not only has never been heard before but also has the merit of being very explicit. So: Kosovo cannot be a republic because "Yugoslavia is the homeland of its Slav peoples and not of the Albanians of Kosovo who have their homeland beyond the border, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania". Can it be put more plainly? Can the inequality of the Albanians, in the context of the Yugoslav Federation, be proclaimed more clearly? So far it has never been said that Yugoslavia is a federation of Slav republic. We do not read this in the constitution, either. As can be seen, some influential circles, whether of the republic or federative level, in face of all-sided pressure, affected by the euphoria, of repression, have lost their discretion and are throwing on the table many cards they had kept deeply hidden. Certainly, when it is said that the homeland of the Albanians of Kosovo (and of the whole of Yugoslavia, we add) is the PSR of Albania, the truth is said and not a comma can be deleted from it. But it is close to reason that "BORBA" does not mention this in order to expose the division of the Albanian nation into two parts, as a great historical injustice. Even what a Serb internationalist social-democrat, D. Tucovic has said since the time of the World War I, are considered a heresy today. The aim in this tantamounts to using the ethnic connection of the Albanian people of Kosovo with the Albanian people in Albania as an argument to deprive the former of their right to be equals with the other peoples within the Yugoslva Federation. This takes on a racist coloring. Here we have to do with an attempt aimed at justifying a kind of "apartheid" against the Albanian population, precisely because of the national ethnic group to which it belongs.

It follows from this that the present region of Kosovo is not at all a form of state organisation which paves the road to the affirmation of this population, but a means of discrimination, isolation, meant to keep it firmly in the acutal inferior position. This is the meaning of "specific autonomy".

In the series of its articles "BORBA" avoids mentioning this sort of argument directly. Undoubtedly, however, it reflects this, by maneuvoring with some considerations, which one might say, are of an international juridical order. This is the shade of meaning given to the thesis that "A nation cannot have two national states," that since a state of the Albanian nation exists in itself, it is impossible to create a second Albanian state, there is no room for two parallel states of the same nation. In this connection, it must be explained clearly that in our case the question is not at all about the creation of two Albanian national states. The Belgrade propagandists are up to some trick in this. They make believe that they do not understand that the demand for the status of a republic for Kosovo consists in no way in setting up a second Albanian national state with the attributes of a subject in itself in international relations. Its only objective is to change the status of the autonomous region to the status of the republic, always inside the framework of the Yugoslav federation. "BORBA" refers itself to precendents in the creation of "dual" national states following World War II (two Germany, two Koreas), which it ascribes to the result of the wars of "grave consequences in international relations "and as" the forefront of the conflict between the blocs". Regardless of the fact that the comparison is not valid in this case, because the republic of Kosovo would not be a state in itself, as the two Germanies and Koreas appear at the present time, nevertheless it is in order to raise the question: Is the division of the Albanian people in two parts the result of peaceful processes? The separation of Kosovo from the Albanian trunk, likewise, is the result of wars, concretely, of the Balkan wars and World War I.

The Belgrade propaganda, and "BORBA" swells especially on this point, has sounded the alarm in connection with the events in Kosovo invoking not only internal threats to the Yugoslav Federation, but menacing developments on the plane of international policy, on the Balkan and even European scale. The question is presented as if not only the stability of "non-aligned" Yugoslavia which exists "outside blocs", but also peace in this zone, are connected through a very precarious thread with the internal structuring of the Yugoslav Federation. All this is followed by a torrent of "terrible" charges against the PSR of Albania, which, by coming out in defence of its compatriots, not only "interferes in the internal affairs of a foreign state", "undermines its internal order", but also threatens peace, upsets the equilibrium in the Balkans and Europe, paves the path to international complications and the interference of the superpowers! The foreign policy of our country is dubbed as "adventurous", "expansionist".

Bluffs are a known method in the Yugoslav foreign policy, but not to such culmination. The PSR of Albania has over and over declared, through its highest representatives, that it is not in the least interested in the weakening of Yugoslavia, its destabilization, that, on the contrary, the Albanian people will fight side by side with the people of Yugoslavia in case of an aggression by any one.

Does the stability of Yugoslavia rest on the internal juridical status quo? Common sense cannot imagine that the foundations of the Yugoslav Federation could be undermined by the mere change in the status of a region which demands to be raised to the ranks of the republic in federation. By supporting the demands of our brothers in Yugoslavia we act within the bounds of international norms, which recongnize the "mother state" the right of solicitude for the compatriots outside its borders. Besides, we have the conviction that the fulfilment of the demand of the Albanian population would eliminate the source of dissatisfaction and turbulence and, in the long run, would lead not to the weakening, but to the strengthening of the internal situation in Yugoslavia.

The interest of the peoples of Yugoslavia, and of all the Balkan zone, if correctly understood, requires that the problems of the Albanians in Yugoslavia should not be allowed to become a gangrene. And this can be achieved not through savage police reprisals, or denigrating propaganda campaigns, but by recognizing the Albanian population a dignified position in the system of the Yugoslav Federation.

A continuation of this lengthy and high-faluting oratory about the internal and external complications which allegedly would inevitably follow after the fulfillment of the demand of the Albanians, is also the thesis of "BORBA" which identifies them (the Albanians of Yugoslavia) with a "national minority". It endeavours to analyse the concept of "national minority" by explaining the contents of the regime for this minority.

"The fundamental question in the life of a national minority in the framework of another state", says the newspaper of Belgrade, is to have "full national rights," such as i.e. the "use of its mother tongue and schools in its own language: and to have them "guaranteed by law". A national minority, it adds, cannot claim to have its state within the framework of another state. Further on "BORBA" shows a taste for advice and moralizing, when it says that "national minorities are an inevitable aspect in the process of creation of states", that it "is not possible to define the state borders in such a way as to include in their midst completely "pure and homogeneous" national population. Therefore..."The national minorities must not be apples of discord, but bridges of rapprochement among the peoples".

In our opinion this arguing is built on rotten foundations, it limps from the very start. The Albanian population in Yugoslavia is not a national minority. Up till now the Yugoslav propaganda boasted that the term "national minority" had ceased to exist in the official terminology because, it said, it expresses a sort of underestimation towards some ethnic groups, their state of inferiority towards the other members of the "community". We do not find this term in the Yugoslav constitution either. Now perhaps they have changed their minds and here they come out again with the "national minorities". The concept of national minority may apply to someone and naturally the problem is not raised to eliminate it either in the internal practice of states or in international relations. But this concept is very narrow if applied to the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. Here the question is for nearly half of the Albanian people who find themselves within the Yugoslav federation. "BORBA" prefers to refer to figures to prove its thesis and reckons that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia makes up 7-8 per cent of its total population, and 14-15 per cent of the population of the Republic of Serbia. Although these percentages have been "manipulated" to a certain extent, we have the right to ask the question: Why can this reckoning not be carried through to the end? What place do the populations of Montenegro and Macedonia occupy in the total of the Yugoslav population? From the viewpoint of numbers the Montenegrin population and the Macedonian population come to the bottom of the table. Notwithstanding this they are not national minorities and have their own republics. "BORBA" maintains silence over the fact that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia today reaches about two million people and, hence, in relation to its size, ranks third in all the Yugoslav federation. Now we know the best of the "argument"; this population is not Slav. Then, it becomes clear once again that the obstacle is not numbers but discrimination on a national basis.

The spokesmen for big-Serb chauvinism see other "threats" in the eventual possibility of recognizing to the Albanian population the right of organizing themselves into republic of its own. Thus, "BORBA" says that the republic of Kosovo, were it accepted would be a state form which would enable the Albanian nationality to isolate itself within the narrow framework of its own "ethnic group", which would lead to "isolation and separation from the life and communication with the other parts of the federation". In this case, as "BORBA" forecasts, the members of the Albanian nationality "would use the newly-formed national state: in order "to liberate themselves from the complex of minority", to establish their own hegemony, "to absolutize the interests of the Albanian nationality".

This would cause that the members of the other nations and nationalities in the newly-created state find themselves in the positions of national minorities in relation to the Albanian nationality. Attempts to expel these minorities, and in general mutual feuds and clashes would ensue. And all this only because the Albanians would be recognized the right to have their own republic.

In one word, if Kosovo becomes a republic, the Serbian minority which lives there would be oppressed, would have no rights at all. The gentleman of "BORBA" in his argument takes his cue from a concrete fact namely, that the Albanians today, being in the minority in the Republic of Serbia, have been denied all rights. And he thinks that the present-day position of the Albanians in Kosovo will be that of the Serbs tomorrow. Therefore, the only alternative he offers, is the continuation of the oppression of the Albanians, the negation of their rights.

The claim of the so-called "xenophobia" of the Albanians, their "inability" to civic coexistence with the other ethnic groups, are more than a calumny. More than a disregard for the truth is required, but also a not-negligible dose of sinister cunning to make such insinuations about a population which has continuously been the victim of persecution, which has experienced on its own back all sorts of excesses of the big-Serb idea. No, messrs of "BORBA", you cannot slight the honour and good reputation of the Albanians even by referring to their behaviors towards the other ethnic groups. Suffice it to mention the time of the national liberation war: there were hundreds of cases of massacres by the Ustasha and Chetniks in various parts of Yugoslavia to the detriment of the Slav population, but not in Kosovo, or in the regions inhabited by Albanians, in general. Not infrequently, the man of Kosovo forgot the bitter past and took his Slav neighbour under his wing, in order to save his life, his property from the occupiers.

In the end, the spokesmen for the big-Serb chauvinism keep astonishing us with their logic: the Albanians can be regarded as a minority in relation to the others (this is almost a peace of good luck for them), while the others cannot be a minority in relation of the Albanians. Here, too, racist notes emerge. It has always been clear to us that the big-Serbian chaunvinist ideology has anti-Albanian prejudice, which borders on absurdity, as its inseparable elements.

The Yugoslav propaganda machine has been set in motion full tilt in connection with the events in Kosovo. The mass media: the press, radio, television, all have been thrown into action full charge. Innumerable speeches, articles, conversations, programs are aimed to distort the real significance of the events, to couch in banal terms the demands of the Albanians, to sling mud against the PSR of Albania over the stand it took in defence of these demands. Now "BORBA" makes its own "contribution" in this field by presenting a whole "platform" which could be called the "anti-republic". All this is a wretched reasoning, without any convincing force, without any foundation, which adds nothing to the hackneyed phrase said long ago, and comes to prove once again how legitimate is the demand of the Albanians of Yugoslavia and how empty and powerless and even ridiculous are the "arguments" used to misrepresent and liquidate this slogan. In fact, one must admit what has been observed from many quarters. Namely, that the Yugoslav revisionists have seldom been in such a predicament as the situation created after the events in Kosovo. One can hardly find a case as flagrant as this one, which has so clearly revealed the deep gap existing between words, learned theorising, democratic and socialist phrases and deeds and actual reality. It is an undeniable fact that in the light of the events in Kosovo and the stands maintained by the Belgrade leaders, the present Yugoslavia is coming out before the broader progressive public opinion just like it is - a rotten, anti-democratic state which suppresses and kills its citizens.

Belgrade propaganda may raise many smokescreens to preserve what can be preserved of the "prestige" of "self-administrative" and "non-aligned" Yugoslavia in the foreign world. But it cannot hide the fact that an anti-democratic and inhuman action of repression and denationalisation against a compact population is being carried out today in Kosovo and other Albanian-inhabited territories. The demand "Kosovo-A Republic" will resound ever louder.

As a population of 2 million cannot be liquidated with socalled "drastic" measures, so a just demand cannot be put down with sophisms and empty theorising.

HAXHI LLESHI GREETS ETHIOPIAN COUNTERPART

AU121845 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Text] Maxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provincial Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia:

On the occasion of your national holiday, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and I convey to you and to the people of Ethiopia greetings and best wishes for the well-being of your people and the country's prosperity.

BRIEFS

DISTRICT'S ACHIEVEMENTS--Elbasan District was presented with the Red Banner of the Central Commission of the Socialist Competitions for fulfilling wheat production tasks. A meeting was organized on this occasion in which hundreds of distinguished workers and cooperativists, specialists and cadres took part. The achievements of various enterprises were discussed and new objectives were defined for achieving even more successes. Rita Marko, Politburo member and president of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions, greeted the meeting on behalf of the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front and the Central Council of Trade Unions. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 81 AU]

FRENCH YOUTH DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE--The delegation of the French Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Youth Union recently paid a visit to Albania. The delegation was received by Lumturi Rexha, first secretary of the Albanian Union of Working Youth. The French guests have left our country. They were seen off by Etemije Zeneli, secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Working Youth Union. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 81 AU]

REACTION TO POLISH SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SCORED

RABOTNICHESKO DELO Reports

AU142105 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 11 September on page 7 carries an 800-word TASS and 100-word BTA reports on the conclusion of the Solidarity Congress, entitled "Antisocialist Gathering." The BTA report stresses that "the main characteristic of the Solidarity congress was its antisocialist character," and maintains that "this line contradicts the interests of the Polish workers' class and the entire working people."

The TASS report defines the "appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe" as an "overt provocation toward the socialist countries," and "interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries on the part of Solidarity leaders." The report also points out that the "attacks against the constitutional principles of the Polish state," which took place during the congress, actually aimed to "liquidate the socialist system in the country and create conditions for restoring the private capitalist economic system." TASS concludes that the speeches and documents of the Solidarity congress "aggravate the already complicated situation in Poland."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 12 September on page 5 carries three reports related to the situation in Poland. The first--a 250-word BTA report entitled "Against Political Iresponsibility"--reports the declaration of the PZPR Warsaw Committee Bureau on the work of the Solidarity congress. The report points out that the declaration has defined the congress program as a "striving toward transforming the country's sociopolitical system." Denouncing the "appeal to the peoples of eastern Europe," adopted by the Congress, the declaration, according to the report, has stressed that "there are enough powers in Poland which can oppose the wave of hatred and irresponsible actions aimed against the people's vital interests."

The second is a 400-word BTA report entitled "Against the State Interests of Poland." It deals with the reaction of the Polish press to the "appeal to the peoples of eastern Europe," adopted by the Solidarity congress, and emphasizes that "Poland's independent existence is based on friendship with the USSR and the other socialist countries."

The third report is a 500-word TASS report on the letter to the Polish workers, adopted on 11 September by the workers of the Moscow's Likhachov plant, entitled "A Letter to the Polish Workers". The report expresses the Moscow workers' concern with the Solidarity congress and the "appeal to the peoples of eastern Europe", adopted by the congress, as well as their confidence that "the workers of working Poland will find enough forces, boldness and determination to defend the achievements of socialism and stop the class enemy."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 13 September carries on pages 1, 4 a 1,200-word BTA report entitled "With Deep Concern and Indignation," dealing with meetings of workers in various Bulgarian plants denouncing the decisions of the Solidarity congress. The report mentions the meetings at the Kremikovtsi, Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov plants, which have adopted letters to the Polish workers denouncing the Solidarity congress' "appeal to the peoples of eastern Europe", and expressing indignation with the "attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries."

The same newspaper carries on page 1, 4 a 400-word report entitled "Concern With the Polish People", which reports on similar meetings and letters of USSR and CSSR workers.

Workers' 'Growing Alarm'

AU141945 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 14 Sep 81

["With Concern and Indignation on the Situation in Poland"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 14 Sep (BTA)--The workers of the measuring instrument and appliance plant, the plant for construction elements, the "Pirin" tobacco combine, and the textile combine of "Gotse Delchev" in Blagoevgrad, expressed their concern and growing alarm over the events in Poland. They angrily condemned the decisions of the congress of the trade union alliance of "Solidarity" and voiced their protest against the so-called "appeal to the peoples in Eastern Europe".

An open letter to the Polish workers was sent on behalf of the four teams, which reads in part:

"Today everybody who cherishes socialism and peace, follows with concern the trail of events in Poland. Together with the whole Bulgarian people we also turn over anxious look to your country because we understand that a fierce class battle is being waged there, on the outcome of which new depends the fate of your revolutionary gains. It is not a secret to anybody of us that the badly concealed counter-revolutionary forces in the Solidarity trade union are trying, with every possible means, to alter the socio-political system in Poland, and are not concealing their ambitions now to erode socialism on international scale."

The letter also emphasizes: "We are extremely indignant over the impudence with which those who led the congress in Gdansk took the liberty with the so-called 'appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe' to teach us how to live and whom to believe. For 37 years now, under the BCP leadership, our working class, our people, have been confidently building socialism. The county of Blagoevgrad and our native Blagoevgrad are the most brilliant illustration of the possibilities of socialism as a socio-political system. By the changes in our own life we judge for real socialism and there is no power to divert us from this road."

Stress is laid in the letter on the fact that one of the major factors for the successes both of Bulgaria and of Poland is the selfless Soviet assistance, the fraternity, unity and mutual assistance of the socialist countries and this is why it is really amazing that forces alien to socialism are allowed to vilify the Soviet Union and to openly defame socialist internationalism.

The message reads: "We know very well the revolutionary virtues of the Polish proletariat, so brilliantly expressed in the struggle again fascism and capitalism, and in the building of socialism. This makes us firmly believe that in today's hard minute you will defend valiantly the workers' honor and will not allow the forces alien to socialism to define the direction of the development of socialism Poland."

Thousands of metallurgists, miners, mechanical engineers and all the workers of the county of Pernik learnt with indignation about the so-called "appeal to the peoples of eastern Europe" approved by the congress of the Solidarity trade union.

A rally was held at the "Lenin" economic metallurgical combined works. With absolute unanimity the participants in the rally sent a letter to the Polish workers.

"The team of the economic metallurgical combine, carrying the name of the great 'Lenin,' as well as the whole working class, all the working people in Bulgaria, are following the alarming events taking place in fraternal Poland with growing alarm", the letter reads in part.

"Today it is clear to us that the forces which were hidden behind the demagogical words of the need to 'improve', to 'correct' socialism, now still more openly throw their masks and appeal for overt counterrevolutionary acts."

"We are anxious about the fate of the People's Republic of Poland and this alarm became greater in the days of holding the Solidarity congress. This congress is proceeding under the sign of defaming the heroic struggle of the Polish working class, which revived Poland from the ashes and ruins. Only the enemies of socialism and of the working class can so blatantly abuse the real friends and allies of People's Poland."

Further on the letter reads: "We, the working people, are particularly hurt by the so-called 'appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe' adopted at the Solidarity congress. The enemies of socialism are choked with malice on us. They are trying to teach us how to live. They want us to give up the results achieved in the socialist construction, to give up our struggle, to desecrate the memory of the millions of victims fallen in fighting our class enemy, to betray the cause of socialism."

"We, the metallurgists of the 'Lenin,' firmly believe that the Polish working class will crucially defend the gains of socialism in the Polish People's Republic and will restrain the class enemy."

In the town of Veliko Turnovo there was a rally at the memory plant, where profound concern and anger were expressed over the anti-socialist activity of the "Solidarity" trade union in Poland. The workers and specialists sent a letter to the Polish workers:

"Our team," the letter reads, "has been following with concern and indignation the acts of the 'Solidarity' trade union since its foundation till the congress, which aim at undermining the bases of socialism in the People's Republic of Poland. We are greatly indignant over the so-called 'appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe,' which is a rude attempt at interfering in the domestic affairs and the peaceful construction processes in the socialist countries."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO ON 'ZAPAD-81' CONCLUSION

AU141753 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 13 September on page 1, 3 carries a 1,400-word TASS report on the conclusion of the "Zapad-81" military exercises and Ustinov's speech at the concluding ceremony. Reporting that Ustinov had stressed that "all tasks have been fully implemented," the TASS report also stresses the passage in Ustinov's speech which has reaffirmed the "striving of the CPSU and the Soviet state, together with the fraternal socialist countries, to consistently and insistently struggle for preventing a fatal war, restraining the arms race and strengthening peace."

VISIT BY KUWAIT'S AMIR AS-SABAH CONCLUDES

AU111656 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Varna citizens, as we have already reported, today greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, the amir of Kuwait who is paying an official, friendly visit to our country. A few hours ago Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the Armir of Kuwait flew in a helicopter over the fields of Dobrudzha, the summer resorts, and the famous valley of roses. They later visited the Varna shipbuilding research institute, where engineer Petur Bogdanov, the head of the institute, briefed them on the latest research results and testing of recently produced ships built at the "Georgi Dimitrov" shipyard. The development and future prospects of Bulgarian ship industry was explained to the guests.

Amir Departs

AU121417 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Georgi Sveshtnikov, Varna correspondent, report on the 12 Sep departure of Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, the amir of Kuwait, after completing a short official and friendly visit to Bulgaria]

[Text] The official friendly visit of Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of Kuwait ended today. He visited our country at the invitation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council. At Varna Airport the amir of Kuwait was seen off by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Petur Maldenov, Andrey Lukanov, Milko Balev; Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; Belcho Belchev, minister of finance; Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna Okrug BCP Committee; Strakhil Khristov, chairman of the Varna Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, and other okrug and city leaders. Numerous citizens at Varna Airport cordially greeted the two state leaders with cheers for friendship between the peoples of Bulgaria and Kuwait.

BTA Observer Comments

AU122000 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 12 Sep 81

[BTA observer D. Shishmanov commentary: "Effective and Useful Talks"]

[Text] Sofia, 12 Sep (BTA)--The Bulgaro-Kuwaiti high-level talks which ended in Sofia today, can be assessed as successful and useful to the two friendly countries.

Undoubtedly these talks will be followed by positive practical results--a wide-scope programme for mutually advantageous cooperation has been outlined in the different spheres of the dynamically developing economies of Bulgaria and Kuwait. New forms of this cooperation have been pointed out, its diversification and further deepening has been planned and there are favourable conditions and mutual will to carry this out to a good effect.

The attention is drawn by the wide range of international political problems discussed at the Todor Zhivkov-Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah meeting. The joint Bulgaro-Kuwaiti communique is expressing the identity or closeness of the two countries' positions on the topical problems of our time and willingness for political cooperation in finding a just and lasting solution to these problems.

The Kuwaiti assessment of the support of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the just Arab cause is high, as well as of the Bulgarian position on the Middle East and the Palestinian problem and the ways of settling these issues.

On the other hand, attention is drawn by the active and positive attitude of Kuwait to the international problems beyond its geographical region, to the European and world problems in whose just settling all nations are vitally interested. The two countries' views are very close here again. Through their state leaders Bulgaria and Kuwait reaffirmed at the Sofia talks their support to the efforts aimed at the proper settling of the most urgent issues pertaining to preserv ation and consolidation of world peace: disarmament and halting of the arms race, especially in the field of nuclear and other weapons for mass extermination, and liquidation of the hotbeds of tension. But not only statements have been made at the talks. By mutual agreement the concrete ways and means for achieving positive results have been pointed out, a joint appeal has been made for a constructive dialogue of all countries on the matters of disarmament and other key international issues.

Bulgaria and Kuwait view the possibilities for solving the unsettled problems in international relations on the basis of justice, equality, mutual advantage, mutual respect, respect for the sovereignty, independence, non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Undoubtedly the high-level Bulgaro-Kuwaiti talks in Sofia will render a fresh impetus to the further promotion and deepening of bilateral relations and cooperation, will have a favorable political response in the field of international relations.

PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY ARRIVES

AU131641 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, on 13 September (Carlos Costa), member of the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee Political Commission and Central Committee secretary, arrived in Bulgaria on a business visit. At Sofia Airport he was greeted by Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee secretary, and other Central Committee responsible officials.

SECRETARY DOYNOV DISCUSSES FOREIGN POLICY

AU121750 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 81 p 2

[Speech by Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at festive meeting held at the Sofia Georgi Kirkov Hall on 8 September to celebrate the 37th anniversary of socialist revolution in Bulgaria]

[Excerpt] Comrades,

We are celebrating the 37th anniversary of the 9 September victory of socialist revolution in the midst of a complicated international atmosphere. The deep roots of detente planted throughout the seventies are subjected to considerable threat. The most aggressive circles of American imperialism and of certain West European countries have drastically intensified the armaments race and are heading for a total confrontation with the socialist countries and the national liberation forces. They are increasing their actions aimed at destroying the foundations of detente; provoking military conflicts in various parts of the world, thus forcing the militarization of their economy and intensifying their presence in hotbeds of war on our planet; and interferring in the domestic affairs of sovereign states and declaring areas thousands of miles from their borders as spheres of their own vital interests.

The preparations of the United States and NATO member-countries to deploy medium-range missiles in Europe and the decision of the U.S. administration to engage in the mass production of neutron weapons represent a new threat against peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. All this is a new confirmation of the unchanging aggressive character of imperialism.

The U.S. administration has added anti-Sovietism to its foreign policy doctrine and is engaging in overt threats and provocations.

The development of international political life, however, confirms on a daily basis the fact that in that duel of giants which is fought between the forces of war and peace increasing importance is assumed by the peoples' struggle, the struggle of millions who will not permit the process of detente to be stopped, a process which has inspired so many hopes for peace, understanding and cooperation in our world. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov recently declared: "Mankind has no other alternative than peace, and peace must be victorious. It will be victorious!"

Side by side with the fraternal socialist countries, side by side with all progressive and peaceloving forces in the world our People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue indefatigably to contribute to the victory of the policy of detente, the consolidation of universal peace and security, and the development of a peaceful and equal cooperation among all states.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has been and will be at the side of the peoples fighting against colonialism and neocolonialism and for national independence, democracy and social progress. We are in solidarity with and support the liberation struggle of the peoples in the Middle East, South Africa and Latin America, in all parts of the world.

Loyal to the legacy of Blagoev and Dimitrov the BCP is consistently striving to consolidate the unity of the worldwide workers and communist movement, a unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

DEFENSE MINISTER DZHUROV ISSUES ORDER OF THE DAY

AU121637 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Sep 81 pp 1-3

["Order of the Day" issued by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria]

[Text] Comrade officers, generals and admirals,

Comrade soldiers, sailors, sergeants and petty officers,

Comrade workers and technicians, engineers and employees in military enterprises and administrative departments,

Soldiers of the reserve,

Our motherland is celebrating its greatest national holiday today--the 37th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

We are celebrating this 37th 9 September immediately following the historic 12th BCP Congress. This is a year of noteworthy anniversaries, such as the 25th anniversary of the April plenum, the 70th birthday of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the 90th anniversary of our glorious BCP, and the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state. Such a coincidence of anniversaries endows our national holiday with an even greater meaning. It calls for inspired new deeds to which we should commit ourselves.

The years that have elapsed since the 9 September victory have been the most fruitful period and represent an absolute climax in the 13-century history of Bulgaria. Basing ourselves on these great achievements we can confidently review the past, observe the present and look into the future of our heroic people. The People's Republic of Bulgaria today is a prospering socialist country relying on its great economic cultural and defensive wealth and power, and enjoying great international prestige.

The historical achievments of socialist Bulgaria are the results of the consistent implementation of a Leninist policy based on the decisions of the April 1956 BCP Plenum, the optimistic efforts of the people, the people's deep and unshakable faith in the ideas of socialism and communism, and the fact that our country belongs to the socialist community headed by the great Soviet Union. The iron-strong foundation of our country's present socialist upsurge and of its communist future is represented by our sacred and indestructible Bulgarian-Soviet friendship.

The working people in our country and the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are celebrating 9 September this year in an atmosphere of noble efforts and political upsurge, and by implementing the historical decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. A noble socialist competition devoted to the anniversaries celebrated this year produced excellent and highly satisfactory results. The number of outstanding soldiers in combat and political training, of soldiers specializing in training subjects and of excellent detachments has increased. The collectives in military enterprises and in the building sector are successfully fulfilling their production plans.

Along with all the people, united and closely rallied around the BCP Central Committee headed by Todor Zhivkov, the soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army will demonstrate their ardent love for and loyalty to the party at the 9 September parade. They will express their firm resolve and unshakable readiness to defend the cause of socialism and peace against any aggressor. They are vigilantly observing the complicated international atmosphere which is full of tension, due to reactionary forces. The U.S. administration, the NATO member-countries and the Chinese hegemonists are engaging in an unrestrained armaments race policy and are pushing mankind toward a worldwide thermonuclear conflagration. The U.S. president's decision to produce neutron weapons is a striking example of the dangerous approach of imperialism in international affairs. Under such circumstances, the only force capable of guaranteeing a reliable defense for the cause of peace, socialism and social progress are the Warsaw Pact allied armed forces, headed by the invincible Soviet Army. The soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army, loyal to their patriotic and international duty, are vigilant and always ready at the call of the party and the people's government to defend side by side with the fraternal socialist armies the great cause of 9 September as well as the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

Comrade soldiers and commanders, workers and employees, soldiers of the reserve,

Congratulating you most sincerely on the 37th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution in Bulgaria, I wish you health, personal happiness, and new successes in your struggle to implement the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. Be the worthy successors and continuers of the militant and revolutionary traditions of your fathers and ancestors, of the heroic worker class, of the glorious BCP. May the inspired slogan of the 12th BCP Congress: "Deeds, deeds, and only deeds!" remain the basic criterion and basic rule in your noble efforts devoted to the happiness and prosperity of our people, so that a permanent and lofty combat readiness aimed at the defense of our motherland and of the socialist community may be ensured.

On the occasion of the 37th anniversary of socialist revolution in Bulgaria, I issue the following orders:

On 9 September 1981 20 artillery salvos are to be fired in the capital of our country--Sofia--as well as in the cities of Plovdiv, Sliven and Varna. Festive fireworks are also scheduled to take place on this occasion.

Long live the cause of the 9 September revolution throughout the centuries!

Glory to the Soviet Union and its invincible army--the loyal guard of peace and socialism throughout the world!

Glory to the BCP--the organizer and source of inspiration of all our victories!

Long live our beloved motherland--the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

[Signed] Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

POLISH SOLIDARITY CONGRESS, 'MESSAGE' DENOUNCED

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Cited

LD141324 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Poland: The army newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI returns in a lengthy commentary to the first part of the congress of the Walesa trade union organization in Gdansk. The paper says that this union was driven at the congress to adopt extreme positions of total confrontation, and the struggle against the leadership became the central point of the struggle. Frontal attacks against the government were permitted. This is no longer mere criticism but also slanders against and denigration of the state, which ought to provoke sharp social reaction. The height of all this then is the well known message to the nations of East Europe, which confirms the political irresponsibility of the leaders of the Walesa trade union organization for which they will have to pay a price, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI stresses.

The worst thing, however, is that despite various declarations neither the government nor society can count on the Walesa trade union organization to join in resolving the principal problems facing the country. The struggle for power has pushed the struggle for overcoming the crisis into the background. There is method in this madness. The object is to place the responsibility for everything that is wrong on the government. Attacks on the individual branches of the people's power are closely linked together. The leaders of the Walesa trade union organization proceed from the assumption that everyone turns away from the weak. Everything now depends on the rank-and-file members of the union but also on the government and the Sejm, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI says, stressing that the designs of the leaders of the Walesa trade union organization will not succeed.

CTK Criticizes Message

LD150917 Prague CTK in English 0806 GMT 15 Sep 81

[Text] Bratislava, 15 Sep (CTK)--"The 'message to the nations of Eastern Europe,' adopted at a session of Solidarity in Poland, has evidently a provocative character and hardly could another example be found of such interference of a trade union in the internal affairs of other countries, especially friendly ones," today's PRAVDA stressed.

"The effort to enforce its political decisions upon other states can be defined only as violation of international legal and moral [word indistinct]. The 'message' in reality calls for a change of social and economic structures in other socialist countries. It is true that workers in socialist states support the class and ideological ties with Polish workers, but at the same time they do not hide their negative attitude to what the Solidarity leadership is doing. There are serious reasons for such a stand, one of which is the propaganda aimed against socialist states, mainly the Soviet Union," the daily stressed.

"The authors of the 'message' made it clear that they do not care for the interests of the Polish people and state, and that they do not want to understand the mutual balance of forces and the system of obligations ensuring the stability in Europe and its peace in future. Thus, they have become an instrument of the forces of confrontation," Slovak PRAVDA concluded.

Solidarity Called 'Arrogant'

AU141546 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Sep 81 p 7

[Pavol Minarik commentary: "Foreign Policy Note; 'Solidarity's' Arrogance"]

[Text] "Solidarity's" Gdansk congress is characterized by sharp antistate and antiparty attacks.

Its participants demand holding a referendum in the Polish People's Republic on the so-called program of workers' self-management outside the framework of legislative institutions and against the will of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. The resolution approved by the congress on Tuesday calls on all Poles to ignore a parliament elected in proper elections should it approve a government draft law on workers' self-administration and management of state enterprises. This pressure action is, in fact, meant to deprive the government of the Polish People's Republic of the possibility of making decisions about managing cadres in enterprises and plants. At the same time, it has to ensure to "Solidarity" full powers in arbitrarily deciding these important questions. Lech Walesa likes to talk about "agreements," but what sort of "agreements?" What is involved is unequivocally a dictate!

Further, "Solidarity" leaders at the congress were threatening that should the Sejm not accede to plebiscite, they will organize it themselves and put before the government a fait accompli. They are in this way giving the Sejm the chance to "prove" its abilities. That is nothing else but gross pressure on the highest representative and legislative body elected by the people. According to the plans of "Solidarity" leaders, which in fact were drawn up by leaders of the illegal antistate organizations KOR and KPN, the bodies of the future self-administration are to be controlled by members of the "independent trade unions." They also are to control completely the production processes and distribution. This demand, too, is in harmony with the overall concept of "Solidarity" aimed at gradually liquidating the legal rights of the bodies of people's power, such as the national committees in the sphere of administration and also regarding management of the economy.

Thus the PZPR and the Government of the Polish People's Republic stand face to face with an enemy capable of anything. Lech Walesa has already let himself be heard saying: "Just let them have their politics and manage. In the end we will take over power anyway." Thus the situation in the country of our northern neighbor is more than serious and dangerous.

"Solidarity" is already openly and arrogantly violating constitutional principles and instigates the whole society to do so, too. In many cases "Solidarity" "stands in" for public security, and exerts illegal pressure on courts and justice bodies. For example in Bydgoscsz, where prisoners mutinied recently and declared an "occupational strike" only because a warden, in accordance with regulations, took an action against an escaping prisoner, "Solidarity" is acting as some sort of mediator for prisoners' demands. Through "Solidarity" the prisoners demand that those who escaped from the jail should go unpunished, and at the same time they demand the dismissal of several unpopular wardens and so forth. It is "Solidarity" which openly attacks the Polish People's Republic's bonds of alliance. From "Solidarity's" congress platform voices resounded which, even with the best of will, cannot be interpreted as anything but interference in the internal affairs of other socialist countries from the position of some sort of superiority. And these are moments which--although delicious for those who want to seize power in Poland--actually lead the country into a blind alley. It will not be easy to find a way out of it. Already today it is clear that making concessions to counterrevolution is not the right way.

'Export of Counterrevolution'

AU141827 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Sep 81 p 7

[Milan Jelinek commentary: "On the Margin of the Gdansk Congress; Gross Provocation"]

[Text] For decades, coming from the West, there have been attempts to subvert socialism.

In the capitalist states there are secret anticommunist and espionage centers transforming hundreds of millions of dollars, marks or francs into subversive actions, into a flood of lies and incitement. Judging by the course of "Solidarity's" congress in Gdansk, international reaction has succeeded in opening a branch--in Gdansk.

Reporters of the Western information media, who are understandably "Solidarity's" fans, have also noticed that the congress is for them, people used to the conditions of bourgeois politics, an unprecedented spectacle: chaos, a flood of conflicts and disputes, contradictory speeches full of political irresponsibility and also naivete, and even lack of knowledge and stupidity. The journalists inform us about a power struggle among functionaries, fighting for posts and positions, and an atmosphere of intrigues, pressure, vanity and megalomania. But, above all, they inform us about what was a common denominator for the majority of the participants--about attacks on the policy of People's Poland and on its allies and socialism in general.

Some "Solidarity" leaders have decided obviously to reveal their cards. They are demonstrating provocatively that the counterrevolutionary offensive which they are waging against socialism in Poland knows no bounds. They have taken root in local soil, won certain positions and want to expand.

Therefore, the congress proclaimed the "message to the nations of East Europe," which contains an open appeal for a struggle against the socialist system, evidently with the same methods and means employed by "Solidarity" in Poland.

TRYBUNA LUDU tellingly characterized the "Solidarity" appeal as follows" "Translated into normal language, it means an appeal for changing the existing social structures in other countries of real socialism."

This goal, expressed in different words, is also the slogan of the so-called Free Europe or other institutions specializing in ideological diversion. It is the strategic doctrine of anticommunism for more than 30 years now, since the times of the inception of the community of socialist countries.

The Gdansk congress has not been able thus far to agree on a single document about the ever more urgent economic problems of Poland. However, a provocation against the socialist countries was adopted without delay.

The "Solidarity" congress has not contributed a single proposal which would help to lead the country out of its economic difficulties; on the contrary, it deepens them and some leaders are already speaking about a "power struggle." Despite all that chaos and disorder at the congress, in the background one can feel a firm hand and the purposeful efforts of those who are, in a well-thought-out manner, manipulating and steering the congress. It is obvious where they held consultations on the course, tactics and program of the congress and what "experts" provided their services here. "The message to the nations of Eastern Europe" carries a telling author's seal.

TRYBUNA LUDU also notes another fact. The appeal is "addressed precisely to the ideologically befriended countries of the socialist community, the guarantee of Poland's independence; that is, to countries, especially the USSR, which are helping and whose aid we urgently need to prevent an economic catastrophe."

"Solidarity" is interfering in a gross and unacceptable manner in the internal affairs of the socialist states, of fraternal countries which firmly stand on the side of socialist Poland. "Solidarity" chieftains are at this moment opposing the principles of Polish foreign policy whose foundation is, as TRYBUNA LUDU notes, "the alliance and friendly harmonious cooperation with the socialist countries."

By what right does "Solidarity"--which has the lion's share in the dismal economic state of Poland--assume the right to issue appeals for subversion in the socialist states, for the same subversion into which it has dragged the country?

For those Polish citizens who are yearning for tranquillity to work, which is the only way out of the current problems, it is deeply insulting that in Gdansk, instead of the so necessary consolidation program, they have been issuing appeals for the export of counterrevolution. The message of the Gdansk congress cannot be called anything else.

'Struggle for Power'

AU141538 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Sep 81 p 7

["JL"-signed report: "'First Round' of the Gdansk Congress; Antisocialist Forces Preparing for Struggle for Power"]

[Text] Gdansk, 10 Sep--On Thursday, the last day of the first round of the "Solidarity" congress, the final text of the statutes of that organization was adopted. "Solidarity" leaders are striving to annul the fundamental legal prerequisite of the court decision on the registration of "Solidarity"--they want to demonstratively reject the party's leading role.

The congress ended by adopting an appeal to boycott the legislative bodies of the Polish People's Republic in an effort to push through, in an illegal manner, demands for holding so-called "free" elections and its own notion about the management of enterprises in the Polish People's Republic by way of some sort of referendum on workers' self-administration.

The second part of the "Solidarity" congress, for which the organizers are promising discussion about an economic and social program of the union, the discussion of which there has not been time for thus far, is to be held by the end of the month.

The results of the congress will lead to new and ever more dangerous conflicts which are to "speed up the process of the struggle for power." These conflicts are to be transformed into a "total confrontation."

PRAGUE SAYS U.S. SECRETARY'S REMARKS RECALL COLD WAR

LD141742 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Protected by tight security measures, the United States Secretary of State General Alexander Haig visited West Berlin on Sunday. Radio Prague's commentator (Miroslav Stransky) says that his anti-Soviet attacks during his visit in Berlin were strongly reminiscent of the cold war. This visit, lasting several hours, was a planned provocation against detente. West Berlin was aware of this fact with an 80,000-strong demonstration protesting against United States armament and foreign policies. Seven thousand West Berlin policeman as well as American units were trying to quell these demonstrations.

State Secretary Alexander Haig was accompanied by the West German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. This fact, continues our commentator, is another act of provocation at variance with the four-power agreement on West Berlin. Alexander Haig's visit culminated in a speech devoted to the hackneyed topic of the alleged Soviet threat. He defended plans to deploy new United States nuclear missiles on the territory of West European countries. Contrary to common sense, he declared that talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on what is termed Euromissiles can only be successful if NATO's nuclear modernization plans are implemented first.

He must have been unpleasantly suprised by the Netherlands defense minister, Hans van Mierlo, who said that this year his government will take no decision on the deployment of United States nuclear missiles. This may have been one of the reasons why Alexander Haig while in West Berlin described the Soviet Union as the root of all evil. A mere 10 days before his scheduled meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko at United Nations headquarters, Alexander Haig has come forward with the most hostile speech since he was appointed secretary of state. There is no sign indicating that the United States is ready to settle existing problems through negotiation. On the contrary, in West Berlin Alexander Haig reaffirmed the determination of Washington to bring about confrontation with the Soviet Union and to drag the world back to the tense years of the cold war.

HUSAK SIGNS ACCORDS WITH PDRY, RETURNS HOME

Agreements Signed

LD141348 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Democratic Yemen: Official talks between the party and state delegations of the CSSR and the PDRY ended in Aden today with the signing of the final documents. Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and 'Ali Muhammad Nasir, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP] Central Committee, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium and chairman of the Council of Ministers, signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the PDRY. A protocol on cooperation between the CPCZ and the YSP for the period of 1982-83, an intergovernmental agreement on the abolition of visa obligations for the members of the contracting states making official journeys, a protocol on cooperation between the foreign ministries of both countries, and a protocol on the exchange of goods between Czechoslovakia and Democratic Yemen for the period of 1982-84 were also signed during the talks in Aden by the Czechoslovak party and state delegation. At the close of the talks, which passed in a spirit of friendship, mutual trust and understanding, a joint communique was adopted.

The Czechoslovak party and state delegation headed by Comrade Gustav Husak afterward left the PDRY for home.

Arrival, Welcome Noted

LD141932 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] The Czechoslovak party and state delegation led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, returned today from an official friendly visit to the Libyan Arab People's Socialist Jamahiriyah, socialist Ethiopia and the PDRY. At Ruzyne Airport in Prague the delegation was welcomed by Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, and other members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Vasil Bilak, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Josef Kempny and Josef Korcak; by party Central Committee secretaries, Mikulas Beno, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Josef Havlin, Frantisek Pitra and Jindrich Polednik; by Oldrich Svestka, member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee; by Miroslav Capka, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, and by other representatives.

SYRIAN CP DELEGATION ARRIVES ON OFFICIAL VISIT

LD142128 Prague CTK in English 1540 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Prague, 14 Sep (CETEKA)--A delegation of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party led by its general secretary Khalid Baqdash arrived here today at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

ERICH HONECKER CONCLUDES VISIT TO MERIDA

Comments on Receiving Award

LD131122 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0756 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] [No dateline received] (ADN correspondent)--Upon receiving the award of honorary citizen of Merida, Erich Honecker declared inter alia: "This ceremonial act is for me a further expression of the friendly relations shown so impressively and convincingly during my entire visit to your country... I can assure you that our people are continuing the humanist tradition of the great Germans in their work of reconstruction and shaping developed socialist society. Human dignity occupies an outstanding place in this society."

Erich Honecker went on to state that the GDR people recall their humanist traditions. "According to the teachings of history there is no greater task for the GDR than to back the safeguarding of peace in the world, clearing the way for progress and independence of peoples. It is, therefore, a matter of course for our state to support the great initiative of your president, Lopez Portillo and of French President Mitterrand with reference to El Salvador."

Honors Freedom Fighters

LD132034 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1737 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] Merida, 13 Sep (ADN)--The chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, paid tribute on Sunday morning in Merida to the heroes of the Mexican independence struggle at a wreath-laying ceremony.

The ceremony was held at the memorial to the six young heroes of Chapultepec who died in 1847 in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors.

Wires Thanks to Portillo

LD132154 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1909 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] Mexico City, 13 Sep (ADN)--The chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, has sent a telegram to the Mexican president, Jose Lopez Portillo, on leaving the territory of the United Mexican States in which he cordially thanks him for his hospitality. In the telegram Erich Honecker expresses his conviction that their talks will give strong stimulus to the development and strengthening of friendly relations between the GDR and Mexico and contribute to improving the international climate and enhancing peaceful cooperation among states.

Joint Communique

LD141034 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0200 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 14 Sep (ADN)--The text of the joint communique on the state visit by Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, to the United Mexican States 9-13 September 1981 is as follows:

At the invitation of Jose Lopez Portillo, president of the United Mexican States, Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, paid a state visit to Mexico 9-13 September.

The heads of state held extensive talks on various aspects of the international situation and looked at the current state of relations between the GDR and Mexico.

The exchange of views took place in an atmosphere of cordiality, complete understanding and mutual respect.

They stressed that high-level personal meetings and contacts are of great value in intensifying bilateral relations and consolidating peace.

They underlined that the development of relations between the GDR and Mexico formed another element in the striving for better, peaceful coexistence between nations.

During their discussion of the world situation, the two heads of state concurred that states' conduct must be based on fully implementing the principles of the UN resolutions. This applies especially to respect for the sovereign equality of states, self-determination and independence of peoples, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, the peaceful settlement of conflicts, territorial integrity of states and respect for sovereign rights over their natural resources. Both sides believe that the basic prerequisite for the peaceful co-existence of states, to which there is no reasonable alternative, is strict adherence to these principles.

They praised the constructive role of the UN organization in international life and advocated strengthening it and enhancing its effectiveness in the interests of world peace and international security on the basis of respect for the UN Charter.

Both heads of state expressed their deep concern in view of the arms race, the existing sources of conflict and the emergence of fresh sources of conflict which are exacerbating international tensions and increasing the danger of war. They thus express their firm determination to work for peace and detente.

They are of the opinion that the most urgent task of the present consists in adopting specific and effective measures is to end the arms race, particularly the manufacture of mass destruction weapons. They stress the need for resuming talks on ending the arms race. At the same time they emphasize that the ultimate goal of the efforts by all states must be universal and total disarmament.

The GDR and Mexico stress the importance of the Geneva disarmament committee and are determined to do their utmost to contribute to the success of the second special meeting of the UN General Assembly on disarmament planned for 1982.

The two statesmen support the efforts to intensify negotiations on nuclear disarmament and for effective measures on banning nuclear weapons tests, on reducing nuclear weapons quantitatively and qualitatively and on removing all mass annihilation weapons.

They advocate the creation of nuclear-free zones in different regions of the world and stress the exemplary importance of the agreement of Tlatelolco creating the world's first nuclear free zone.

The two sides decisively condemn all kinds of racial discrimination, in particular the policy of apartheid, and resolutely support the measures to remove the remains of colonialism and neocolonialism.

In discussing international economic relations both sides state with concern that the efforts to date to create a new international economic order have brought only insufficient progress. Discrimination in trade and protectionism, growing inflation, the international monetary and financial problems, the manipulation of markets for raw materials and foodstuffs are factors which continue to complicate the reshaping of international economic relations on a balanced, just and democratic basis.

Both sides thus advocate new and important progress being achieved in the eighties in the process of reshaping international economic relations in order to achieve practical results for the benefit of all peoples, in particular for the developing countries, by a contribution being made to overcoming the problems and inequalities of the world economy.

They attach particular importance to the problems of raw materials, energy, trade, the development of industry, agriculture, science and technology, and to monetary and financial issues.

They stressed the need to decide as soon as possible within the UN framework the agenda and procedures which will permit the start of a series of global negotiations aimed at concluding specific agreements on urgent worldwide economic problems by way of a uniform, coordinated and simultaneous approach by all concerned. An effective process of global talks will be of mutual benefit and will help restructure international economic relations in accordance with the principles and goals of the new international economic order as contained in the charter of states' economic rights and obligations and the declaration and action program of the Sixth UN Special Session.

They stressed the need in this respect for some developed countries with market economies to relinquish their attitude which has to date obstructed the start of global negotiations.

Erich Honecker, chairman of the State Council, praised the extraordinary efforts which Mexico has made to achieve democratic and fair international economic relations.

He stressed in particular the manifold initiatives by the president of Mexico to promote by means of international dialogue this issue which is so important for consolidating peace and equal economic cooperation.

He wished President Lopez Portillo success in the impending meeting at Cancun.

They exchanged views on the urgent need to be guided by reason and a sense of responsibility in the production, distribution and consumption of energy and raw materials. They concurred in this respect that the present world energy situation requires urgent solutions to these problems which are of far-reaching importance for mankind's future. Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, praised, in this connection, the world energy plan, submitted by President Jose Lopez Portillo at the 34th UN General Assembly, as an important and useful initiative.

In analyzing bilateral relations, both statesmen expressed their pleasure at their constant advance and expressed the desire and will of both sides to develop continuously and further deepen bilateral cooperation in all spheres.

They discussed important aspects of bilateral economic cooperation and evaluated the state and prospects of relations between the two countries. They examined the progress achieved in implementing the signed agreements and noted with satisfaction that these form an increasingly comprehensive contractual framework for the development of relations. They endorsed their will to intensify further economic cooperation in the commerical, agricultural, agroindustrial, industrial, financial and scientific-technological spheres.

Both sides agreed that the favorable development of bilateral economic cooperation in recent years is stimulated by increasingly frequent contacts and reciprocal visits including the recent meeting in Berlin this June of the mixed commission for economic cooperation which is of special importance. This facilitated an exchange of views and experiences which helped to develop relations between the two countries on a more comprehensive and positive basis in line with the possibilities for mutually supplementing their economies.

The two heads of state praised the important role of the protocol on the trade agreement for the period June 1980 to June 1983 in expanding and diversifying trade. Both sides also expressed their will to hold further functions for promoting bilateral trade. They declared their express will to develop industrial cooperation in agreed spheres, including the transfer of technology. They further agreed to promote cooperation in agriculture.

The heads of state attribute special importance to developing scientific-technological cooperation which helps, under the principle of mutual benefit, to consolidate relations of friendship and cooperation.

The heads of state expressed their satisfaction at the development of relations in culture, science, education and sports which are of fundamental importance for the GDR and Mexican peoples to know and understand each other better.

During the visit, the following agreements were signed to promote cooperation between the GDR and Mexico:

--A framework agreement on scientific-technological cooperation.

--A supplementary agreement to the agreement on economic and industrial cooperation.

--An agreement on technological cooperation in the sphere of planning.

--An interinstitutional agreement on scientific cooperation.

--An agreement on scientific-technological cooperation in the sphere of health.

--An agreement on agroindustrial cooperation.

--An agreement on scientific-technological cooperation in agriculture.

Both heads of state expressed their satisfaction at the coopeation between Mexico and CEMA and welcomed the meeting of the fourth session of the mixed commission for cooperation between Mexico and CEMA taking place in Mexico in September 1981.

They expressed their conviction in this respect that this meeting will lead to further progress in commercial and economic cooperation between Mexico and the CEMA member countries.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction at the success of the visit and underscored their conviction that the talks held constitute an important contribution toward developing and consolidating friendly relations between the two countries.

The chairman of the GDR State Council expressed his heartfelt thanks for the warm reception given him and his entourage by the Mexican people and Government.

Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, invited Jose Lopez Portillo to pay an official visit to the GDR. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Honecker Comments on Visit

LD141807 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1125 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 14 Sep (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, made a statement on his arrival in Berlin emphasizing the great importance of his visit to the United Mexican States. He noted with satisfaction that a large degree of agreement exists between Mexico and the GDR on the basic issues of our time. His talks with President of the United Mexican States Jose Lopez Portillo, which were held in an open and cordial manner, convincingly demonstrated that arms limitation and disarmament, in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, are regarded as the most important issues of the present time. Both sides agreed that solving these issues would preserve mankind from the threat of a nuclear inferno.

Erich Honecker drew attention to the importance of Jose Lopez Portillo's statement that in today's situation, in relations between states with different social systems, it is not so very important what separates them but what they have in common, that is, the struggle for peace, freedom and social justice--goals which form the basis of the GDR's and Mexico's foreign policy.

In view of Mexico's role in international life, its work for self-determination, freedom and independence for peoples in the Caribbean region, as well as its support for the South African liberation movement, the visit was of outstanding importance for the foreign policy of the socialist countries which are working against the United States' policy of confrontation and for a general improvement in the international situation.

Erich Honecker said their agreement on essential issues of world politics was firmly rooted in the Mexican people. This was demonstrated by their vigorous approval when he appeared in the Mexican [Congress]. It could be seen that the majority of the parties are determined, despite [various types] of attempts to divert Mexico from its path of independent policy, to continue this policy and to strengthen friendship with the GDR on an all-round basis. This was also reflected in the agreements concluded, and in the firm will of both states to considerably develop political, cultural and economic relations to the advantage of both sides.

The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council said, on behalf of himself and those accompanying him, that they were very satisfied with the results of the visit to Mexico. They once again expressed their thanks for the cordial reception and splendid hospitality which had been shown them everywhere in Mexico.

ERICH HONECKER BRIEFLY VISITS CUBA, RETURNS HOME

Reportage on Visit

For Cuban media reportage on a visit to Cuba by GDR State Council Chairman and SED First Secretary Erich Honecker, see the Cuba section of the 14 September and subsequent issues of the Latin American DAILY REPORT.

Honecker, Delegation Depart

LD140844 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0023 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Havana, 14 Sep (ADN)--The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, Erich Honecker, left Havana for the GDR early Monday morning central European time.

He and his entourage were given a most cordial send-off from Jose Marti International Airport by the first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba's Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro Ruz.

Honecker Cables Thanks

LD140853 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0107 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Havana, 14 Sep (ADN)--The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, sent a telegram to Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of Ministers of Cuba, expressing his thanks for the hospitality shown to him in Cuba.

"Our comradely, [trusting] exchange of views underlined the full concurrence of our views and represents a further step in deepening the fraternal relations between our parties and states," it says. Erich Honecker wishes Fidel Castro and the Cuban people "fresh successes in developing socialist society on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party."

Return Home

LD141020 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0956 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 14 Sep (ADN)--The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, returned to Berlin this morning following his state visit to the United Mexican States and his brief visit to the Republic of Cuba.

Erich Honecker and his delegation were cordially welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee Willi Stoph; Politburo members Herman Axen, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann and Erich Mielke; and candidate member of the Politburo Gerhard Schuerer.

Joint Press Statement

LD142010 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 14 Sep (ADN)--On the occasion of the visit to Cuba of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on 13 September, the following joint press statement as released:

At the invitation of Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, arrived in the Republic of Cuba on 13 September for a short visit at the conclusion of his visit to Mexico.

Erich Honecker and his entourage were very cordially received.

The meeting of Erich Honecker and Fidel Castro was a renewed expression of the firm, unbreakable friendship and the unity and solidarity existing between the peoples of the GDR and the Republic of Cuba. During the meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of sincere friendship, Erich Honecker and Fidel Castro had a fruitful exchange of ideas on deepening the cooperation between the two fraternal countries and on international politics.

It was noted with satisfaction that the fraternal and comradely relations between the SED and the Cuban Communist Party and between the governments and peoples of both states are developing successfully in accordance with agreements concluded by their highest representatives during the visit of a GDR party and state delegation to Cuba in May 1980 and on the basis of an agreement on friendship and cooperation. Both parties praised the results of the exchange of ideas, the direct cooperation of the party and state organs as well as the numerous contacts between the workers. The two leaders judged the state of economic and scientific-technical relations to be an important factor in the development of the national economies of the two countries as well as a contribution to socialist economic integration.

They emphasized that the cooperation in important investment objects in Cuba, as for example in the cement and ceramics industries as well as in other areas, and the increase in trade are the mutually advantageous results of the close economic relations between the two countries. Joint ventures in the fields of sugar production, the production and processing of citrus fruits, metallurgy as well as in other areas that are being carried out within the framework of the multifaceted CEMA programs, contribute to a rise in the productivity and effectiveness of the natinal economy of the two countries and to the continual improvement of the material living conditions of the workers.

Both sides underlined their intention to deepen the fraternal relations between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba, which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in all fields. The GDR and the Republic of Cuba will also actively contribute in the future to further strengthening the position of the socialist community of states.

In their assessment of the international situation, Erich Honecker and Fidel Castro stressed the dangers of the adventurous confrontation course of the most aggressive imperialist circles and agreed on the need for the strongest efforts to secure world peace, for a renewal of the international dialogue and for international cooperation.

They spoke out for a resumption in the near future of serious negotiations between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of strategic arms and on the lessening of the danger of nuclear confrontation in Europe. In this connection they underlined the significance of the suggestions made by the socialist countries, especially on a moratorium on the stationing of nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe as well as on mutual renunciation of the production of neutron weapons.

Both sides underlined their high regard of the important and positive role that the Nonaligned Movement has played in international life in the 20 years of its existence.

Erich Honecker briefed Fidel Castro on his state visit to the United States of Mexico. This visit contributed to a strengthening of mutual relations and represents a significant step in the realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states of differing social orders. Erich Honecker condemned the continuing imperialist boycott and aggressive policies toward the first socialist state in America and emphasized anew his support of the just demands of the Cuban people and their government regarding the unconditional return of the Guantanamo military base, which is being held unlawfully by the United States.

Fidel Castro and Erich Honecker condemned the acts of interference and aggression against the peoples of this area, especially in the Caribbean and in Central America, who are fighting for their national and social liberation. They expressed their solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada, who have started on the path of true progress. Both statesmen condemned the imperialist's intervention in and crimes against the people of El Salvador. They supported all suggestions that are aimed at the solution of the problem and are based on the points of view and suggestions of the revolutionary and people's organizations.

Erich Honecker and Fidel Castro demanded explicitly the immediate stop to the brutal aggression of the South African racist regime against the independence and terrirotial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola as well as against SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], the sole representatives of the people of Namibia. They assured the People's Republic of Angola as well as SWAPO of their countries' unbreakable solidarity. Erich Honecker and Fidel Castro expressed the conviction that their meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship, cordiality and complete mutual understanding, has given a new impetus to the fraternal and comradely cooperation between the SED and the Cuban Communist Party, between the GDR and Cuba.

Honecker Summarizes Visit

LD141750 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1244 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 14 Sep (ADN)--Erich Honecker has told ADN that his brief visit to Havana has once again underlined the indestructible friendship between the socialist GDR and revolutionary Cuba.

He stressed the great cordiality with which he and his entourage were received by Fidel Castro, the entire party and state leadership and citizens of Cuba.

During the meeting, Erich Honecker briefed Fidel Castro on the outstanding results of his visit to Mexico. Fidel Castro praised the great importance of this visit for further developments in the Caribbean and for the struggle against the attempts of the U.S. administration to put pressure on the peoples of this region, particularly revolutionary Cuba. It impressed him very much, Erich Honecker said, to see the determination with which the Cuban party and state leadership, backed by the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Cuban people, are countering the U.S. policy of threats and boycott.

Bilateral issues were also discussed during the meeting, which was in keeping with the firm solidarity of the two states and peoples and in accord with the treaty of friendship and cooperation. Erich Honecker affirmed that the GDR, like all states of the socialist community, unshakeably stands by the Cuban revolution, no matter what. No policy of threats and boycott can prevent the GDR from supporting Cuba in its difficult struggle.

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER KESSLER ARRIVES IN ROMANIA

LD142312 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1733 GMT 14 Sep 81

[By ADN correspondent]

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Sep (ADN)--A National People's Army delegation headed by the deputy minister of national defense and head of the Political Main Administration, Col Gen Heinz Kessler, arrived in Bucharest on Monday for a friendly visit. Colonel General Kessler, who was received by the Romanian defense minister, Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, conveyed cordial greetings from Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of defense, which were cordially reciprocated by Minister Olteanu. The two ministers discussed the peace-securing role of the forces united in the Warsaw Pact and the further heightening of their combat readiness for the protection of socialist achievements in a cordial meeting.

FDGB'S TISCH, SZOT'S GASPAR ISSUE COMMUNIQUE

LD132328 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2203 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 13 Sep (ADN)--The GDR Trade Union Federation [FDGB] and the National Council of the Hungarian Trade Unions [SZOT] regard the struggle to secure peace, the continuation of the process of detente, the ending of the arms race and the initiation of real steps toward disarmament as their most urgent task. This is the substance of a press comunique concerning the friendship visit of a FDGB delegation led by Harry Tisch, a member of the SED Politburo and chairman of the FDGB Executive Committee. The visit ended Sunday. Tisch had discussions with Sandor Gaspar, Politburo member of the MSZMP Central Committee and general secretary of SZOT.

"Proceeding from the fundamental truth that the struggle to maintain peace is the most important concern of those involved in representing workers' interests within the trade unions, both sides call for a stronger commitment on the part of the trade union movement to peace, disarmament and detente, which are decisive prerequisites for the improvement of working and living conditions of working people throughout the world," the communique said.

The FDGB and SZOT commit themselves to the active preparation and early convening of an international trade union conference on social and economic aspects of disarmament.

HONECKER, STOPH CONGRATULATE BULGARIAN LEADERS

AU101334 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Sep 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, have sent the following telegram to Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and state council chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and to Grisha Filipov, Council of Ministers chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Dear comrades, on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, the Council of Ministers and the GDR people we convey to you, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria as well as to the fraternal Bulgarian people the most cordial greetings and congratulations on the 37th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

On the basis of the decisive act of liberation by the Soviet Army, the socialist transformation in Bulgaria was initiated with the armed uprising of 9 September 1944, and the turn in the history of the Bulgarian state was effected, the state whose 1,300th anniversary the People's Republic of Bulgaria is currently celebrating.

Under the leadership of their Communist Party and in close alliance with the USSR and other fraternal countries, the diligent people of Bulgaria succeeded in a historically short period in turning the once backward country into a state with a modern industry and efficient agriculture. Evidence of that was given a few months ago by the 12th BCP Congress, which at the same time mapped out new, higher targets for the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria developed as an inseparable constituent part of the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries into a state whose contribution toward strengthening international security and peace is recognized worldwide.

On behalf of all GDR working people we congratulate you and the fraternal Bulgarian people on these achievements from the bottom of our hearts.

We can state with genuine pleasure that the fraternal relations between the SED and the BCP, the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are constantly continuing to develop on the basis of our joint world outlook, Marxism-Leninism, and socialist internationalism. Life is being breathed purposefully into the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of 14 September 1977.

You may rest assured that the GDR will continue to do everything in its power to constantly strengtehn and deepen the close friendship and all-round cooperation that firmly links our two parties, states and peoples.

Please accept, dear comrades, on the occasion of your national holiday our best wishes for great new successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress to the benefit of socialist Bulgaria, in the interest of peace, as well as for your health and personal well-being.

FRG BUNDESWEHR MEMBER ASKS FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM

AU101346 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 6 September 1981 Harald H., soldier of the FRG Bundeswehr, asked for asylum in the GDR for political reasons.

DEFENSE MINISTER RETURNS FROM SOVIET UNION

LD131116 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] The Hungarian minister of defense has returned to Hungary from the Soviet Union. Army Gen Lajos Czinege led a military delegation to the Zapad-81 military exercises carried out by the Soviet Armed Forces.

NEPSZABADSAG: 'BOLD, RESOLUTE' MEASURES IN POLAND

LD131138 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] The report heard and the documents adopted at the Solidarity trade union congress highlighted the attempts of those who for the past year have been hindering development in Poland. Ferenc Varnai, in an article in NEPSZABADSAG entitled "Self-portrait of Solidarity," says there was hope in Poland that those in Solidarity who are concerned about the fate of the nation would prevail at the congress. It turned out, however, that the congress chose opposition. The goal of the organization is the deepening of the crisis, the carrying out of the counterrevolution and the seizing of political power. The congress also revealed that a struggle is taking place behind the scenes between the so-called moderate wing, which takes international and domestic realities more into account, and the extremists, who want to bring the conflict to a head. Objective observers believe that the forces now in control of Solidarity are acting in the interests of those who want to destroy the unity of the socialist countries.

Ferenc Varnai stresses: It is becoming more necessary for the Polish communists to take bold and resolute measures against the opponents of social peace and accord.

More on Varnai Article

LD141042 Budapest MTI in English 0600 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 13 Sep (MTI)--Many in Poland have cherished for a long time, and by all appearances are still cherishing, the hope that inside the Solidarity organization, whose existence is not to be separated from the feelings of unsatisfaction and disillusionment over the mistakes committed by the former Polish leaders, a sense of responsibility for the nation's and the people's lives will eventually supervene. "Thousands of facts show that this is not so, as evidenced by the recently closed first phase of the Solidarity congress"--reads commentary in the Sunday NEPSZABADSAG.

[Words indistinct] points out: "The submitted report and the endorsed documents are sanctioning the aspirations of those who have for one year left nothing undone to obstruct a solution in Poland and who are designed to play the battering ram for this organization against the existing social order."

"While the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) at their 9th congress proclaimed the policy of social concord, economic reforms and social democratic development, the Solidarity congress has chosed the line of confrontation"--reads the article and adds that the Solidarity leaders, while embroiling the workers into strikes and demonstrations, thus disorganizing and paralysing every production, are blaming the PUWP for the turn of things from bad to worse, for the lack of goods, for the increasing chaos. "Meanwhile the primary responsibility for the disastrous state of the economy rests by now with themselves and will rest even heavier, as time is elapsing,"--reads the commentary.

The Solidarity congress-states the article--has heard a series of contributions, ignoring both the agreements concluded with the government, and the elementary premises for legal order.

Meanwhile every sort of criminal appear countrywide on the scene and the mob is getting loose upon the society. Instigations were heard to turn the state-owned means of production into 'group property', a general air [words indistinct] was spread against the legally appointed leaders, some even stimulated to distribute the land of the state farms. Under the pretence of 'freedom' for the mass information media, the real intention is to use them against socialism, against the working masses and contrary to the interests of the nation--[words indistinct] the menace to paralyse them, under boisterous reference to the press, radio and television equipment, received from the capitalist world. The paper calls attention to the fact that the leaders of this allegedly democratic organization have failed, despite an approved agenda, to give account to congress of the sources from which this expensive gathering has been financed and out of which their apparatus of by and by [as received] several thousands is being maintained.

"The last year's final accounts together with the crowning facts of the present congress leave no doubt that the organization is in the hands of persons who care little for turning it into a trade union body to represent and protect the workers' rights, but who wish to transform Solidarity into a political opposition under denial of national interests and constitutional order and with a political program for those who stand on the hostile side against socialism. Right was the party committee of Warsaw when it put down in a declaration: The aim this organization has set is to deepen the crisis to bring on a counter-revolution, to seize the political power".

"The aims no longer concern exclusively Poland--the paper continues,--the French semi-official AFP news agency found itself induced to admit: The "appeal" that the congress in Gdansk addressed to the socialist countries--with its contained call "to follow the Polish example", to "establish their own free trade unions" under the promise of assistance to this effect--is an attempt to export the Solidarity-type of fabricated revolution (?viz, anarchy, the overturn of social order--the editor) into the rest [of the] socialist countries." "For a sound and objective observer it can hardly remain concealed that the movers of the Solidarity organization are acting in the interest of those who desire to enfeeble the community of socialist countries and to dissolve their unity."

The commentary next calls attention to the struggle that prevails within Solidarity backstage where a 'moderate wing' (as it is called) shows a kind of leaning to take account of the inner and outer [word indistinct] as against an 'extreme wing' [words indistinct] for a confrontation as soon as [words indistinct] reason to fear that more and more workers are getting disappointed in Solidarity with the consequence that the organization might lose its mass base, whereas the latter wish not to wait any longer, as they think the hour for action has come. Encouragement to them comes from the ever more clamouring aggressive circles of international imperialism."

"The self-portray that the extremist Solidarity leaders painted of will hopefully shock a lot of Polish workers whom the lie-slogans have so far deceived [sentence as received]. The need is growing, but also the possibility, for the communists of Poland and the true adherents of socialism to stand up boldly, decidedly, unhesitatingly against the enemies of social peace and concord who are representing non-Polish, nay counter-Polish interests. The community of socialist countries--including Hungary and its public--declares solidarity with those who assume this hard struggle"--closes the NEPSZABADSAG commentary.

COMMENTATORS VIEW POLISH SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

Szilagyi: 'Sociopolitical'

LD122026 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Excerpts] After a 3-day extension, the first round of the Solidarity congress ended on Thursday in Warsaw. [venue as heard] A week ago, when I spoke to our reporter, Szabolcs Szilagyi, I expressed the hope that the discussion would reduce the number of question marks. Well, this has not happened. The congress has deferred its decision on many important topics. However, I think the (?picture) has become significantly clearer. Solidarity has proven even more openly that it aspires to power and that it is preparing to change the socialist system.

According to the signs, the first round of the Solidarity congress has only further increased the tension. Szabolcs Szilagyi, after being in Poland for 2 days, how do you assess the congress?

[Answer] I believe that even before the congress, there was no need for particular political astuteness to see--and today there is no doubt whatsoever--that for most of the Solidarity leaders, the framework of the basic statutes that were legalized and approved earlier has become too tight. At the congress they really did show their true colors. The resolutions, the comments and the sequence of events and style of the discussions made it unequivocal that Solidarity is not a trade union but a sociopolitical mass movement and furthermore, one with a strongly antisocialist and antistate disposition, in effect, an opposition movement. I would just mention one example, which is a direct challenge to the PZPR, the government and the parliament: Solidarity is demanding a referendum on the draft bill on enterprises, and it has announced that if this does not take place, then it will call a referendum itself and, as a final step, will boycott the law submitted to the Sejm for approval.

[Question] What was the authorities' reaction to this?

[Answer] Quite a number of commentaries and statements have been released during the past 48 hours. The most determined stand was made public by the Warsaw party executive committee in the name of the communists of the capital. It stated that the first round of the Solidarity congress is disturbing and has created antipathy, because political demands have determined the main direction. It also maintains that Solidarity is becoming a movement that plans counterrevolutionary change in Poland. On Thursday the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemned the Solidarity message to Eastern Europe. This action by Solidarity is described as contrary to Poland's interests and as direct intervention in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. I must mention another reaction. At one of the Sejm committee meetings the deputies greeted with indignation Solidarity's resolution on self-management.

[Question] Have the party Central Committee and the government taken a stand yet?

[Answer] I do not know of a central stand as of yet.

[Question] So far now we have talked about the Solidarity congress. How did Solidarity as a movement of several million react to the congress resolutions?

[Answer] I think that you are also thinking of the reaction of the population, the whole [words indistinct] of Polish society. Unfortunately I have to say that this whole series of events has ended up at a weekend with a free Saturday, which means that as soon as the congress ended, the people, leaving the radios and televisions from which they received information about the congress, ran to the shops, because the preparation and shopping for the weekend had to be done.

I think that Solidarity must have lost something of its prestige and trust, but I could not really answer this in a truly definitive way. However, I do have disturbing news that new tensions might be created in the next few weeks. There is already an indication in that the academic year has not even started and there is already a protest action at the University of Krakow. The strike alert has been announced. They are protesting against the draft bill on higher education.

I have a feeling that the opinion of the people, the Polish population, is expressed in, let me quote the latest commentary, where the ink is still fresh, from today's issue of POLITYKA. The eminent POLITYKA commentator Wroblewski writes the following: The Solidarity activists are not familiar with history. If they only knew what sort of cul-de-sac even the largest mass movement can end up in. Neither would it do any harm if they were to realize that the majority might not always be right. Let me quote one more sentence from this commentary: I believe that what the incurable optimists expected a year ago will come about. This social machinery will be broken in like a new motor, Wroblewski said.

[Question] However, there will be arguments, because the second round of the Solidarity congress is on the doorstep, and this again might polarize the forces.

[Answer] In the first round of the congress, 13 working groups were created whose task it is to work out Solidarity's program. This will be done in the next few days in various cities. Certain tensions are already visible. It is noted that the planned press boycott has not been withdrawn, and other tensions elsewhere and different protest actions can still be expected.

MTI Editor Meruk: 'Politics'

LD122112 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Interview with MTI editor Jozef Meruk by unidentified Budapest Television reporter following the former's return to Budapest from the Solidarity congress in Gdansk, Poland--live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] We know quite a lot but not enough about the Solidarity congress--certainly not as much as we would like to know. What can you tell us as an eyewitness?

[Answer] Well, we had to work hard in Gdansk in order to formulate our ideas. What Solidarity did achieve was to have its statutes accepted.

[Question] Does this have any significance in the sphere of practical politics?

[Answer] In the final analysis, the debate concerning the statutes revealed the forces that are opposing each other within Solidarity.

[Question] Why did the congress last 6 days instead of 3?

[Answer] The work of the congress was hindered by continual points of order.

[Question] What, in your view, does this congress mean politically?

[Answer] It has become apparent that there are forces within Solidarity that wish to engage in politics at all costs, that want to force political declarations, letters and appeals out of the organization.

[Question] You brought a number of documents with you from this congress. I would like to show one of the posters to our viewers. It depicts the map of eastern and southeastern Europe. For those who have no color sets, that is, the majority, all the socialist countries are shown in red, while Poland is half red and half white.

[Answer] Well, this poster is only one of the documents that were handed out at the congress and in its vicinity. The truth of the matter is that the regional organizations of Solidarity are publishing and disseminating various brochures, books and journals in hundreds of thousands of copies. Here, for example, is the Solidarity weekly. More than 1 million copies are being published this month, in the period between the two parts of the congress.

[Question] Thus the frequently heard complaint that Solidarity has no means for propaganda is not well founded.

[Answer] I think that these demands by Solidarity are not particularly well founded, particularly because in practice almost anything can be published in the country without any curb or control. It must be said that in the eyes of the public these semi-official publications often suggest that it is they who are telling the truth.

[Question] Let us try to sum up. Today's TRYBUNA LUDU, the central daily of the Polish party, in dealing with the Solidarity congress, says the first round of the congress greatly increased the doubts about the activities of Solidarity and reduced hopes to the minimum. It then expresses the hope that despite this, in the second stage of the discussions that are to begin in 2 weeks' time, the constructive tendencies will gain the upper hand.

[Answer] As to the doubts, there is an episode that illustrates why things went as they did. During the congress, two members of the elected Presidium quite suddenly got up and announced that they were not willing to participate any longer in the direction of the congress because the Presidium was cheating. As for the next stage of the congress, I would quote the words of Walesa in this connection, who said that the congress had to determine Solidarity's program and that this program would have to show how Solidarity can contribute to the solution of Poland's social and political crisis.

[Question] I think that today, 12 September, it would be irresponsible to say more than this on the development of the Polish situation. We might know more in 2 or 3 weeks' time.

POLISH GOVERNMENT RESPONSES TO CONGRESS NOTED

Siwak Remarks Cited

LD142154 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] According to the leader of a Polish Industrial Branch Trade Unions, now that the Solidarity congress is over, party members must choose between the PZPR and Solidarity. Albin Siwak, who is the deputy chairman of the Industrial Branch Trade Union of construction industry workers and at the same time a member of the party Politburo, told foreign journalists that what stands behind the resolutions adopted in Gdansk, which are of a political nature is not the working class but antisocialist groups such as KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and the Confederation for an Independent Poland. The trade union leader expressed the view that the resolutions could have been passed only because the overwhelming majority of the participants of the Gdansk congress were by no means workers. At the same time Siwak expressed his conviction that the party and the government will take a decisive stand because, we quote, talks are possible only if they do so and only if the two sides discuss issues that serve the country's interests, and not who should assume control of the press or, for that matter, of parliament.

Mass Media Access Demands

LD131820 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] Walesa, chairman of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission, has said at a meeting that the organization is not striving to win power but only to exercise proper supervision over it. At the same time he stated that the organization insists that it should be able to appear on television at least once a week. If this is not permitted, then Solidarity will create its own television station, for which the necessary equipment is already available. It is worth recalling that, in a statement it issued a few weeks ago, the Polish Government drew attention to the fact that, under the Constitution, radio and television are a state monopoly as they constitute two vitally important elements of the mass media.

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER'S WARSAW TALKS REPORTED

LD112215 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Hungarian Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Istvan Roska discussed Hungarian-Polish relations and international questions in Warsaw. His partner in the talks was Dmochowski, undersecretary of state. Istvan Roska was also received by Polish Foreign Minister Czyrek.

GDR TU DELEGATION'S OFFICIAL VISIT REPORTED

Talks With Gaspar

LD130240 Budapest MTI in English 1031 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 10 Sep (MTI)--A delegation of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB) headed by Chairman Harry Tisch, arrived in Budapest on Thursday at the invitation of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT). The delegation was received by SZOT General Secretary Sandor Gaspar. Official talks opened on Thursday between the delegations headed by Sandor Gaspar and Harry Tisch. The leaders of the two organizations briefed each other about the state and tasks of their countries' trade union movement and evaluated relations between them. They exchanged [words indistinct] over timely questions of the international trade union movement. The delegation of the GDR fraternal organization called at the central school of SZOT where it met members of the SZOT Presidium and got acquainted with the school's work. Following this, Harry Tisch delivered a lecture about FDGB's tasks.

Kadar Receives Tisch

LD111149 Budapest MTI in English 1053 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 11 Sep (MTI)--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, received Harry Tisch, member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB), who is currently staying in Hungary, in Budapest on Friday. Present at the meeting, marked by a cordial and comradely atmosphere, were Sandor Gaspar, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary general of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, and Rudolf Rossmeisl, ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Hungary.

Delegation Departs

LD132236 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 13 Sep (MTI)--Led by Harry Tisch, president of the FDGB, the delegation of the Free German Trade Union Association which sojourned in Hungary from September 10 till 13, left Budapest on Sunday. They were seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

SOVIET REACTION TO SOLIDARITY CONGRESS APPEAL NOTED

Soviet Workers Protest Appeal

LD142110 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Sep (PAP)--The Soviet press agency NOVOSTI sent PAP an article by W. Klinich, which said work is going on undisturbed at the Likhacev car factory (ZIL) in Moscow, whose crew recently sent a letter to Polish workers to protest the Solidarity appeal to working people in Eastern Europe. The author described the crew's statement as a voice of protest against attempts by the Solidarity congress to separate Polish workers from the workers in the Soviet Union and put them at odds. The ZIL crew's letter to their Polish comrades "came not as a result of the intention to instruct or raise charges against class brothers who suffered from a disaster but of a most sincere desire to aid them," Klinich claimed.

Klinich quoted utterances by two Soviet workers, of whom one termed the Solidarity appeal unbecoming and irresponsible and said the Solidarity congress in Gdansk "in fact calls (?for a) fight against socialism". To support the latter claim he said no trade union from the socialist country was invited to the congress, to say nothing of the appeal. At the same time he said he cannot believe that the working class in Poland turned its back on socialism and added that he was confident that "an honest worker can put an end to chaos and anarchy and put his home in order". He also assured Klinich that "Polish friends can count on friendship, support and solidarity of the Soviet people".

The other worker respondent said: "We drafted the letter to Polish workers because we had confidence in their class consciousness and their fidelity to internationalism. We are sure that the hardships facing Poland at the moment are (?of a passing nature) and can be overcome on condition that the working class gets consolidated and the alliance between our nations is strengthened."

TASS Cited on Solidarity

LD141958 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] In one of its dispatches today TASS dealt with the recently concluded first stage of the Solidarity congress. We read in part that the extremist leaders of this union are continuing to create a tense conflict situation in Poland and are attempting to exacerbate the climate of antisocialist and anti-Soviet psychosis so that, in such a climate on the eve of the second stage of the congress, they can direct a further attack on socialism and take over power in Poland. The statements of the extremist leaders at the Solidarity congress demonstrate clearly that they are backed by antisocialist forces directed by the Western subversion services. They are pushing the leadership of the trade union to open actions aimed at the overthrow of the political system which exists in Poland, we read in the TASS dispatch.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI VIEWS SOLIDARITY 'PROVOCATION'

LD141650 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Sep 81

["This Will Not Succeed"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Sep (PAP)--In connection with the conclusion of the first stage of the NSZZ Solidarity congress and the resolutions adopted at it, publicist Jerzy Rulicz of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, in a commentary under this title, stresses that the leadership of the trade union has shown its true face, not only to our society but also abroad. Among some people this has evoked protests; in the eyes of others it has brought shame upon itself. The view is widely held that the trade union is at a crossroads.

I think, J. Rulicz writes, that it had adopted a point of departure for general confrontation. An atmosphere of implacable clash with the government was created at the congress, and its outcome was already foreseen. Is it not too early to celebrate victory? Everything now depends upon whether the troops--the rank-and-file members of this trade union--will rise to the struggle. Will the trade union succeed in mobilizing itself for such a confrontation? This also depends on the government and the Sejm. Will the schemers succeed in frightening them?

Confrontational resolutions prevailed at the congress, for the demands contained in them are not only unrealistic, but also offensive. there is a growing circle of people in society who believe that this must no longer be tolerated.

The main battlefield is the struggle against authority. Frontal attacks are being planned against the government. This is no longer criticism of the government, it is a (?presentation of accounts). There was a no-confidence vote concerning the Sejm and its deputies, many of whom have not hidden their sympathy for this trade union movement, the author of the commentary notes.

The final limit is the now famous "message" of the congress, which must be regarded as one of the main political errors of the Solidarity leaders. It confirms their political irresponsibility, and they will have to (?pay) for it. Soviet workers are already protesting--and rightly. In the socialist countries this document is rated as a "blatant provocation" and as "impudence of the trade union leaders." I think, the author goes on to write, that the contents of this document are also a provocation in relation to our own government, since in this connection it must answer the question: Why have things come to this? For our country's relations with other countries are not represented by the National Consultative Commission of the Solidarity trade union; the trade union has violated signed agreements and has irresponsibly entered the field of foreign policy, undermining the good relations with our neighbors. The delusions of grandeur obsessing certain trade union politicians have also turned out to be fatal for Solidarity.

There is no doubt that some of the congress decisions have compromised the trade union. The worst thing, however, is that neither the government nor society can count on Solidarity joining in resolving the major questions for the country. [passage indistinct].

3 SEP SOLIDARITY RESOLUTION ON CONGRESS COVERAGE

PM141458 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 4-6 Sep 81 p 2

[Solidarity "National Consultative Commission Resolution Dated 3 September on Access to Mass Media" carried under "Self-Government" rubric]

[Text] 1--Demands put forward by NSZZ Solidarity with respect to access to radio and television are based on the content of point three of the Gdansk agreement, according to which "the activities of radio and television as well as of the press and publications should make it possible to express different thoughts, views and opinions. They should be subjected to public control."

In view of the events which have occurred in the last month, when the state information monopoly in radio and television has become an instrument used for disorientating public opinion and intensifying social tensions, the implementation of the Gdansk agreement in this sphere can no longer be postponed. However, the government side's attitude to this matter has recently become clearly more retrogade. The government's press spokesman has publicly reasserted the principle of the authorities' monopoly with respect to decisions on the content of programs broadcast by radio and television, which are seen as a "central organ of state administration."

In radio and television news commentaries the demand that public control over radio and television be imposed in accordance with the Gdansk agreement has been presented as an attempt by the trade union organization against the state authorities' rights.

We will fight for the implementation of the Gdansk agreement principles by all statutory means. We demand participation in public control over radio and television and access to them not only for ourselves but also for all organizations and circles which play an essential role in the country's public life such as the church, peasant organizations and creative and scientific associations.

2--Talks between a working party of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and representatives of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] on the subject of the mass media ended on 26 May. While not giving up its struggle for full implementation of the trade union's demands with respect to access to the mass media, the KKP acknowledges the proposals put forward by the government side included in the 26 May statements. In accordance with the government's official undertaking, we demand that this proposal be immediately implemented. However, the way in which Solidarity programs on radio and television are to be presented--a fundamental divergence has arisen with respect to this question--requires coordination. Talks on this subject should be started immediately.

3--The KKP sees the question of radio and television coverage of the first question of radio and television coverage of the first MSZZ Solidarity national congress as a step toward the implementation of the idea of our trade union's access to the mass media. The government side has made such coverage dependent on the abandonment by our trade union of the idea of carrying out protest actions in the press and on radio and television. The KKP rejects this condition. The first national Solidarity congress is an event of great importance in the country's life, and our trade union is not a petitioner to the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs with respect to its coverage. No one can demand that the trade union give up its statutory rights. The KKP does not accept the Council of Ministers' antistrike resolution No 185/81 of 28 August 1981 concerning radio and television workers and radio and television stations. The trade union has not so far called for any protest action in those institutions, but this means could be utilized by statutorily qualified trade union organizations, for instance in the event of repressive measures being taken against workers in accordance with the authorities' clear statement on the matter.

At the same time, the commission states that any radio and television coverage of the congress must be carried out under conditions which safeguard the trade union organization and public opinion from any of the manipulation or disinformation which have been current practice, especially during the recent period. We cannot let a situation arise in which the first national Solidarity congress is reported on to the community dishonestly.

The KKP endorses the attitude adopted toward this question by the Solidarity negotiating team during talks with representatives of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs. In order to ensure that the congress is reported on honestly, it is necessary to entrust radio and television coverage to two teams, one appointed by the trade union from among Committee for Radio and Television Affairs workers and the other by the committee management. The appointment by the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs of a team to cover the congress from among Solidarity members, coupled with a guarantee that the trade union would have editorial control over all the phases of the creation of the program and, later, over the broadcasting of any parts of it, would be an acceptable alternative. We cannot accept that the national congress be portrayed to public opinion in the way in which radio and television news programs have recently reported on our trade union's activities. The KKP reiterates the appeal made by the trade union' chairman to all journalists urging them to report on our trade union's work honestly and comprehensively.

The commission fully support Solidarity members' efforts at Polish radio and television as well as in the radio and television stations to secure access to the mass media for the trade union.

The KKP supports the struggle waged by the Association of Polish Journalists against attempts to restore pre-August conditions in the Press, broadcasting and television.

In view of attempts to intimidate journalist and mass media workers, we state that the trade union will not hesitate to respond with strike action to any repressive measures adopted against them.

LOCAL SOLIDARITY STRIKE ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Jagiellonion Strike Readiness

LD142228 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Krakow dispatch by Leszek (Chorbat)]

[Text] A state of strike readiness continues at many higher education establishments in Krakow. I spoke to Assistant Prof Dr Michal (Pulawski), chairman of the works commission of NSZZ Solidarity at the university, about the reasons for protest action at Jagiellonian University.

[Begin recording] [Pulawski] It was its own history. The law which has been in force until now in higher education had defects which were common knowledge to academic circles, and this brought about the fact that work has been underway throughout the whole of the past academic year--to elaborate a new law. This work was undertaken by very wide [word indistinct] and nearly all higher education establishments in Poland have been involved in its realization. Solidarity was also active in this respect, but it was not only Solidarity. As a result, a new draft law on higher education was created, a compromise draft law which is universally accepted and which was sent to the ministry in June 1981. The ministry placed itself under obligation not to introduce any new amendments to it. However, without even consulting the authors of this draft, amendments were introduced which fundamentally changed the contents of the law. As a result of these amendments [words indistinct] demands were reduced almost to zero. Moreover, a number of other amendments were introduced, relating to the sphere of financing, the plurality of outlooks on life--which is a matter of fundamental importance in the case of higher education establishments--amendments relating to personnel matters, methods of hiring and firing employees--mainly of dismissing employees from higher education establishments. These amendments are of fundamental importance. The introduction of these amendments without consultation, without disucssing them, evoked great indignation among university circles, and the measures which we mentioned at the outset were a result of this.

[Question] Was the declaration of a state of strike readiness a measure to which you had to resort?

[Answer] In the atmosphere which exists at the university, this measure seems to be justified because we want to adopt a very strong, firm stance on these issues--and other education establishments sympathize with our actions. We have the support of nearly all higher education establishments in Krakow and of many academic centers in Poland. This action, of course, continues at the moment.

[Question] I would like to ask whether, despite the declaration of strike readiness, you are expecting this issue to be settled by a compromise?

[Answer] We are relying on the fact that commonsense will win. Settling these issues by means of a strike is, of course, the last resort and it should not take place. This is obvious.

Nevertheless, it must be clear that the most important, the most significant, matters from the point of view of the country, must not be settled in this way.

Lighting Works 1-Hour Strike

LD141256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] The members of the Solidarity works organization in the POLAM lighting equipment works in Pila have conducted a warning strike 1000-1100 today.

The cause of today's warning strike is the seizure in July of this year, at the recommendation of the voivodship prosecutor's office in Pila, of brochures printed to order by the Solidarity works commission in POLAM and by the regional board of the union in Pila entitled: "The Poznan June of 1956", and "The Streets Were Our Friend."

The printing was carried out without the consent of the Chief Office for the Control of Press, Publishing, and Public Performances. In the lighting equipment works a state of strike alert is in force.

In a resolution adopted on 3 September the works commission had demanded the return of the confiscated brochures by 11 September. In connection with the nonfulfillment of the conditions stipulated, and with the dubious--dubious in the opinion of the POLAM Solidarity members--explanation of the activity of the voivodship prosecutor's office at a meeting held on 10 September with two deputies of the voivodship prosecutor, a 1-hour warning strike took place today.

It was announced that if the demands contained in the resolution by the works commission continue not to be fulfilled, then on 21 September the Solidarity members in POLAM will begin a proper strike.

RADOM REGION SOLIDARITY-GOVERNMENT TALKS POSTPONED

LD142242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] The Interfactory Workers' Committee [MKR] of NSZZ Solidarity in Radom region has sent a Telex to the office of the Council of Ministers asking for postponement of the date for talks until after the completion of the second stage of the [Solidarity] congress. Trade unionists have asked for the postponement because the Radom region's negotiating group is now involved in the work of congress commissions. The government commission has agreed to postpone the date and to restart the talks later.

SOLIDARITY, PRIVATE FARMERS' PRESS CONFERENCE

LD141640 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] A press conference was held yesterday evening in the Gniezno House of Culture in which representatives of the leadership of NSZZ Solidarity and of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers participated. A particularly large number of questions was addressed to Marian Jurczyk, Kazimierz Switon and Jan Kulaj. These questions mostly concerned the current situation in the country, economic reform and Solidarity's access to the mass media. Solidarity considers the issue of worker's self-management and elections to People's Councils and the Sejm, Marian Jurczyk said, to be the most significant issue at the moment. Solidarity will do everything possible in this respect so that self-management is brought into effect in the version worked out by Solidarity. Asked about Solidarity's access to the mass media, Marian Jurczyk upheld the union's position so far.

Kazimierz Switon was asked about Solidarity's position on the question of political prisoners. He replied that the union will defend those people inprisoned for their convictions, because everyone is entitled to express their views.

Jan Kulaj, chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, informed the meeting about the protest action by members of the organization in connection with the manipulation of the fund for development of agriculture. He also said one must not allow a conflict to arise between farmers and workers; therefore, it is necessary to organize mutual meetings in the best knowledge of what the farmer needs and what the worker needs.

The fact was clearly stressed at the conference that, at present, Solidarity is not a trade union but a social movement.

DATES FOR RURAL SOLIDARITY CONGRESS REPORTED

LD141400 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] [No dateline received] In Warsaw the National Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers has held debates. The debates were closely connected with the approaching first congress of delegates, which will take place in two rounds: 5-7 December this year, and the 9-10 January 1982 [dates as received].

GOVERNMENT-SDP ACTIVISTS COMBINE MEDIA DEBATE

Government View

AU141430 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Sep 81 p 6

["Abridged version" of speech by government press spokesman Jerzy Urban at the session of the Association of Polish Journalists: "The Government and the Journalists"--date, place not stated]

[Text] The conditions under which Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's government is carrying out its mission are becoming increasingly difficult. Its task is to pull Poland out of its disastrous economic situation in order to enable the Poles to see prospects for material security. At the same time its task is to reform relations in the state in such a way as to institutionalize the post-August changes, to cast them into the new molds of exerting power, and to enhance new principles of socially living together, of new rights. All that must be based on a new system of economic management.

Without public support, the government is unable to cope either with its great tasks of historic importance or with the partial ones of providing people with good living conditions while strengthening the fabric of the state. The government is perfectly aware of that. It also knows that even if state organs functioned much more smoothly and efficiently than they do, it would be difficult to win that support without the mediation of journalists. What actually matters is to win support not for the government itself, but to win assistance for a series of measures which are the only chance available for our country today.

Our government is assisted by a significant part of the mass media. That assistance is manifested in support given to far-reaching measures and reforms, as well as in business-like criticism and appropriate pressures. The government draws from journalism ideas for its programming work and for corrections necessary in its undertakings. Differentiated in the general political orientation and even more diverse in specific views, the press also carries a great deal of unfriendly, incompetent, biting, inciting or demagogic criticism, which provides a great deal of satisfaction for those readers who are delighted to see the authorities loudly calumniated and reviled. But eventually the mass media foment links between the public and the state authorities rather than break them.

Unfortunately, such an influential organization as the Association of Polish Journalists does not make enough use of its prestige to back the positive efforts of the state. It makes moves which, in the government's opinion, hinder understanding between the public and the state.

In our particular situation, the majority of journalists, in the performance of their calling, at least show political realism, businesslike attitudes, competence and are able to see the truth that a quarrel between the public and its party and state leadership can only have fatal consequences. On the other hand, some journalists, acting as a collective within an organization with political ambitions, assume a position contradicting the country's interests.

The statement issued by the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP] was precisely the most recent sample of such an oppositional orientation. In the conflict brought about by the Solidarity leadership with the government, the association, disregarding the obvious facts and without going deeper into the issue, clearly took the side of some Solidarity politicians. In the person of its five leading figures, the association cast invectives against the government side. The government of reconciliation was called a confrontation-monger, was accused of lying and falsification. In defiance of the principles of free convictions, an attempt was made to pillory those journalists who sided with the government in its point of view, because the SDP in its statement deplored the fact that the government won the support of some journalists, as if support for the point of view of the authorities of one's own state were a professional disgrace.

However, when Solidarity proclaimed the so-called days without the press in order to punish the government for the audacity to present its position to the public, the SDP did not resist that obvious attempt against freedom of the press, that illegal attempt to silence the government side. On the contrary, many organizations of the SDP helped ruin the field of journalist activity and break the principles of free publication and dissemination. Where was the traditional sensitiveness of the SDP to the suppression of criticism and to the lack of press freedom?

The political struggle is raging in the country. That is not a struggle between the forces trying to restore the old order and the new forces of progress endeavoring to save the fatherland. The struggle is raging between those aspiring to refresh the structures of socialism, to base power on the mandate of a self-governed society freely expressing its will, and to reform the economy, and those turning down socialism and trying, step by step and institution after institution, to take over power. That plan for a power takeover is unfeasible. The attempts to bring the plan into effect can only result in a cataclysm, in a disaster. But even if one theoretically assumes that such a plan could succeed, it would not result in any democracy and any governments of commonsense, but in the terrible and arbitrary rule of fanatical anticommunism.

The political struggle which is raging has its own logic and requirements. The political polarization and unification of the opposing forces belong to its logic, while making use of the means available is to be qualified among its requirements. Propaganda is one of those means. On one side, propaganda is efficient, centrally guided and ruthless. Obviously, what I mean is not the government side. Yet the SDP disputes the right of the PZPR and of its leadership, democratically elected at the ninth extraordinary congress, to run its mass media and to influence other media within the PZPR's control. It is being said that the mass media should belong to the public. Very well, but the public is politically heterogenous, and this theory is being explained in such a way as if the party influence were deprived of a public character and as if the government were in opposition to the public. On the other hand, the opposing forces wrestling for power are regarded precisely as the public which should control the mass media.

Whoever is for changes and for new ways in public life must support the efforts made by the government of reconciliation and renewal, a government guided by the program outlined by the Ninth PZPR Congress. That orientation leaves room for independent thinking, criticism and constructive creativity. On the other hand, whoever sides with extreme political forces fighting for power which is unattainable helps push the country into a blind alley.

The state authorities approach the association's measures with great earnestness because of the importance of the professional group the association represents. That is why they also approach with earnestness the measures that they have to evaluate as negative from the viewpoint of the country's overriding interests.

The association's statement was entirely one-sided, directed exclusively at the Polish Government and did not take into account that our country's authorities, system, party and alliances are a target of constant propaganda assaults with the help of lies such as the government keeps food under lock and key, has halted the sales of condiments and beverages, is intentionally sabotaging reforms, has cunningly dismantled trade unions, and so on. This propaganda, whose crowning glory was the so-called days without the press (party and government only), has not been opposed in the slightest way by the authors of the association's statement [of 10 August], which shows that they are devoid of the skill to appreciate the country's problems and that--because of the vocabulary used in their statement ("open falsehoods," "the strongest campaign since last August," and so on), they have objectively acted in favor of this propaganda.

The secretary general's letter and the main administration's resolution were accompanied by the so-called documentation which--in the eyes of the authors--was supposed to justify the association's statement issued by its five officials. This documentation has the same sins as the statement: It is completely one-sided and analyses the position of the state mass media word for word and period for period, while completely ignoring the rest. (We have omitted the government press spokesman's extensive evaluation of the accusations listed by the association's officials in their so-called documentation. The spokesman's reply was very detailed, which made his speech very long--TRYBUNA LUDU).

For example, the authors of the resolution and documentation do not conceal their intentions, which are more partial than the state mass media they criticize. Within just a few days those media published the full text of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP] Presidium statement, which was published by all Polish dailies as well as by radio and television. All the dailies published the statement by the press spokesman of the KKP on the talks with the government. Radio beamed about 7 hours of extensive excerpts form the talks with the KKP Presidium. Television screened the Lech Walesa and Janusz Onyszkiewicz press conferences lasting almost 1 hour and radio beamed a 45-minute report on that conference. During the 2 weeks following Solidarity's breaking off the talks with the government, the state mass media published about 100 various statements by Solidarity officials, including TV statements by, inter alia, W. Figiel, chairman of Solidarity in the Sosnowiec coalmine; by A. Malachowski by permission of the KKP spokesman; by H. Tarasiewicz of the Solidarity founding committee in Gdynia harbor; by M. Majorek from the Solidarity founding committee in the Kosciuszko foundry; by Dr H. Sienkiewicz and Z. Kosmalski from the Solidarity National Coordinating Committee of mining, and by many others....

Innumerable publications issued by Solidarity are waging a constant campaign of ferocious criticism leveled against the government and the authorities in general. This criticism is completely uninhibited and indulges in abrasive and offensive vocabulary. But this is all right because it is Solidarity that is doing it. Yet if a newspaper is bold enough to criticize various aspects of Solidarity's activities, the association raises a great alarm that Solidarity has been attacked.

A few words about the circumstances in which the most recent talks with the government were broken off. If anyone can be accused of breaking off those talks, then it is the Solidarity press alone.

As I have said, the press published by the PZPR, the ZSL and the Democratic Party published the statements by the government and by Solidarity. It is no fault of the government that the Solidarity statement on the breaking off of the talks was published only 12 hours after the talks had been broken off. As for the Solidarity press, it published only the Solidarity statements, and the Solidarity press readers, compelled to read the explanations of only one side, were unable to learn the government position.

Who was it then that presented the talks in a one-sided way? Who is it that manipulates public opinion?...

While repulsing the mostly baseless attacks and one-sided accusations, I do not want to assert that official propaganda and information is devoid of obvious shortcomings, that it is not rash at times, that it does not create opposition and that it always disperses mistrust. I realize that it is necessary to eliminate those shortcomings and that this task will require much effort and patience. The government realizes that those shortcomings are there and counts on the journalist community's help in improving the standards of information and propaganda. But these improvements should serve socialist renewal and not the adversaries of this renewal.

It is hard to regard as natural and correct the state of affairs created by the statement by the SDP. Of course, the statement is hindering cooperation between the government, which is responsible for the state, and public opinion and the press. Nor does it serve the country's interests.

Further Developments

PM141050 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 81 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Question of the 'Statement' by the Association of Polish Journalists--The Presidium's Resolution; Further Signatures Under the 'Open Letter'"]

[Text] As the press has reported, TRYBUNA LUDU included, SOLIDARNOSC in its edition No 20/81 published a declaration of five activists from the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP], headlined "Declaration of the Association of Polish Journalists," and dated 18 August of the current year. Two weeks later, on the 24th of the current month, the SDP Presidium adopted a resolution in which it "shares entirely the anxiety expressed in the 10 August declaration by the central and Warsaw representatives of our association authorities on the question of the state of affairs in the media." The resolution states that there is a growth of instances of one-sided information to the community, concealment of facts from public opinion and also unjustified interference by the censor.

The TRYBUNA LUDU team expressed their viewpoint toward the "declaration" in a resolution adopted at a joint meeting of the primary party organization and the SDP circle and published in TRYBUNA LUDU on 18 August of the current year. We acknowledged that the declaration of the association's five activists does not reflect the opinions and feelings of all the journalists belonging to the SDP; even the association's statutory elective organs were not consulted over the declaration.

Numerous journalists working for other newspapers, whose names we have published, also protested in the "open letter' against the "declaration" of the five SDP activists. A further 109 journalists from Warsaw, Poznan, Katowice, Kielce and Lublin have joined the protest contained in the "open letter." Here are their names:

Andrzej Albigowski, Ewa Artymowicz, Jerzy Barszczewski, Tadeusz Bartosz, Jedrzej Bednarowicz, Halina Bezak, Jerzy Bieronski, Emil Bil, Zbigniew Brczkowski, Antoni Budny, Tadeusz Butkiewicz, Aleksandra Chmura, Jerzy Chrobot, Pawel Chromcewicz, Czeslaw Chmuscinski, Jan Cichoski, Genowefa Czekala, Bogdan Czubasiewicz, Wieslaw Danielak, Mariusz Dastych, Krystyna Dembicka, Andrzej Denasiewicz, Elzbieta Dworakowska, Eligiusz Dziermagowski,

Zygmunt Dziubek, Mieczyslaw Fudali, Maciej Galazkiewicz, Wit Gawrak, Jerzy Glebocki, Czeslaw Goliszewski, Stanislaw Goszczurny, Wladyslaw Grabka, Danuta Grzelak, Zbigniew Halczuk, Karol Herbst, Mariusz Hortynski, Klaudiusz Hrabyk, Marek A. Jwworski, Stanislaw Jung, Anna Jurkiewicz, Jozef Kradziora, Kazimierz Kasprzak, Jozef Kisielewicz, Jozef Klaja, Anna Klodzinska, Dobroslaw Kobielski, Jadwiga Korzeniowska, Marian Kos, Leszek Kosinski, Barbara Kos, Mieczyslaw Koscinski, Boleslaw K. Kowalski, Jerzy Kozera, Hubert Kozlowski, Tamara Kruczkowska, Bozena Krzywoblocka, Maria Kujawa-Szymonowicz, Zenon Kulej, Jozef Kuznicki, Eliza Kwasniewska, Teresa Kwasniewska, Tadeusz Kwasniewski, Henryk Kwitkowski, Wlodzimierz Lewkowicz, Tadeusz Lojkowski, Andrzej Malachowski, Dymitr Mandzunowski, Jacek Miroslaw, Stanislaw Moldrzyk, Slawomir Nadlonek, Anna Orlicka, Andrzej Orlicz, Jerzy Pardus, Waldemar Piasecki, Dobroslaw Poprzeczko, Jozef Porebski, Jerzy Rakowski, Janusz Ratzko, Adam Rolinski, Wojciech Roszewski, Marian Rynkowski, Ewa Rzemieniecka, Wieslawa Sadowska, Michal Skalenajdo, Kazimierz Spolnicki, Barbara Sokoldwska, Jerzy Sokolowski, Andrzej Stanczyk, Karol Strug, Andrzej Szargan, Tadeusz Szczepanski, Remigiusz Szczesnowicz, Stfan Szwej, Tadeusz Szweji, Halina Szypulska, Julita Twardowska, Henryk Tycner, Ewa Wanacka, Waldemar Wasilewski, Andrzej Wawrzycki, Wieslaw Wesoldwski, Magdalena Winiarczyk, Elzbieta Wilko, Andrzej Wozniak, Wlodzimierz Wojcikowski, Henryka Wygoda, Zdzislaw Zaslawski, Mieczyslaw Ziemianski, and Zbigniew Zlotnicki.

WARSAW RELEASES, SUPREME COURT DETAINS KPN LEADERS

Warsaw Court Lifts Arrest

LD141552 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] In the trial of the members of the leadership of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] which is taking place in Warsaw Voivodship Court, the court has lifted the temporary arrest of Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Szeremetiew and Tadeusz Stanski. The court has also decided to place the defendants under the supervision of the Citizens' Militia. Explaining the decision to change the precautionary measures, the court stated that at the trial's present stage supervision by the Citizens' Militia will be sufficient to ensure its correct course, and that there is no need for the temporary arrest of the accused.

In the next part of the trial Leszek Moczulski answered the court's questions on the KPN's activity and contacts abroad.

Court To Release Dissidents

NC141312 Paris AFP in English 1307 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Sep (AFP)--The Warsaw Court has decided to release three leaders of the dissident Independent Polish Confederation (KPN) accused of anti-state activities, dissident sources said here today.

The tribunal decided to release the three men on parole, sources at the home of KPN leader Leszek Moczulski said here.

Supreme Court Reverses Decision

LD141726 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] We have been informed that today the Warsaw Voivodship Court, following the submission by the defense, has lifted the temporary arrest of Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Szeremetiew and Tadeusz Stanski.

The voivodship prosecutor has submitted a protest to the Supreme Court against this decision and submitted that the decision of the voivodship court be set aside. The Supreme Court has accepted the protest of the voivodship prosecutor and decided that the temporary arrest be maintained. Following the above, the accused still remain in detention.

INADEQUATE BREAD SUPPLIES IN MANY REGIONS

LD142042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Despite the price hike, bread supplies are still inadequate and lines outside stores have not become smaller. In many parts of the country the choice is seriously limited and customers are also complaining of the quality of bread and bread rolls. In Tarnow Voivodship, for instance, as before the price hike, bakeries are producing only two kinds of bread and two kinds of bread rolls. The inhabitants of the Gorzow Voivodship are having great difficulties with buying bread. This is the case also in Krakow. Szczecin also still finds it difficult to provide bread for its inhabitants. Owners of some private bakeries cannot bake as much as they would like since they do not receive adequate allocations of flour. They are also short of such commodities as sugar, margarine and milk. The Warsaw head office of Spolem co-operative assures that there are sufficient reserves of flour and other raw materials. Causes are thus to be sought only in defective organization and simply in a lack of sensitivity to market needs.

FURTHER REPORT ON SOLDIERS WORKING IN MINES

LD141520 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] In view of the particular significance of every ton of coal this year, the Ministry of National Defense has agreed to the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry's request that soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces be allowed to work in the mines after completing their first year of military service. For the next 12 months, work in the mines will count as national military service.

The soldier-miners will avail themselves of all the facilities to which the miners are entitled. Let us add that reservists who begin work immediately after completing their service will also have their work experience in the mines included in their 2 years period of military service. As a journalist from PAP has learned, the mines have so far signed 2,500 preliminary work contracts with soldiers who wish to work underground in the mines for their second year of military service. The miners' ranks will also be reinforced this year by recruits undertaking substitute work in the mines instead of their basic national service. So far over 7,500 recruits have volunteered for work in the mining industry.

TRYBUNA LUDU INTERVIEWS MINING, LABOR MINISTERS

LD121100 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Text] Today's TRYBUNA LUDU carries two interesting interviews with the heads of ministries. Lt Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of mining and power industry, says that our power industry is now operating at (?peak) capacity when in fact at least 20 percent more capacity is needed in reserve. Delays in overhauls are cuased by the unwillingness of overhaul gangs to put in overtime. The functioning of the whole power system will depend to a large extent on the course of this years' winter.

The second interview is with Prof Antoni Rajkiewicz, minister of labor, wages and social affairs, and is entitled "We Must Live Modestly". Professor Rajkiewicz says that in order to grasp a better understanding of life's difficulties he is giving up his ministerial salary, that is Z23,700 and just keep his professional salary, that is Z11,150. The minister says that this is a standard close to that of other families. You see, the wife of Professor Rajkiewicz draws a pension and his son, just like the majority of this year's graduates, is finding it difficult to get a job. His daughter, on the other hand, after giving birth to a child, had to discontinue her professional work and is getting help from her parents.

AGRICULTURAL STAFF VIEWS PRESENT FOOD SITUATION

AU141307 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "The Agricultural Staff in Session"]

[Excerpts] The staff for ensuring the effective management of harvesting work and farm produce processing held another session on 10 September. The session, which was chaired by Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, made further decisions to improve the harvesting of root crops, grasses and horticultural produce and to ensure that they are correctly used for processing and for market supplies.

There are indications that it will be possible to improve general market supplies--except for meat--and everything must be done to use this possibility. This year's grain harvest is about 2 million tons bigger than last year, and we also have imported cereals and fodder. The potato yields are not exacely record yields, but they have been uniform throughout the country, which makes it possible to meet all the needs of the market and to greatly increase the production of potato starch, syrup, various foods and spirits. The sugar campaign, which has already produced the first tons of sugar in the market, is still promising to be favorable. Large quantities of sugar will soon be supplied to the sugar industry, and this will make it possible to greatly improve supplies to consumers.

Following unfavorable supplies of milk in the first 6 months of this year, the milk purchases have improved in recent weeks. It can be said that, on the whole, the market's demand for milk can now be fully met and that it will probably be possible to produce more hard cheeses. On the other hand, the situation of livestock purchases and contracts is shaping unfavorably. In voivodships such as Chelm, Radom, Nowy Sacz, Lomza and Krosno the purchases of slaughter livestock are 40-50 percent lower than last year. Warsaw, Lodz, Piotrkow, Skierniewice, Nowy Sacz and Tarnobrzeg Voivodships show the lowest quota of livestock breeding contracts for the next few months.

The session agreed that improvements in the supply of production means to farmers, especially the elimination of the coal backlog, are the basic conditions for stimulating the livestock breeding on contract. The coal backlog at the end of last August amounted to 1.5 million tons, and the agreed coal supplies to the rural market in the fourth quarter of the year will not improve the situation.

As during the previous sessions, the problem of supplying agriculture with industrial means of production created the most arguments. The Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Engineering Industry has made great efforts in recent weeks to meet the needs of agriculture as attested to by the increased supply of machinery and spare parts. However, the shortages of equipment, especially of batteries, tires and spare parts, which accumulated in the past years, are still most acute.

Summing up the session, R. Malinowski stressed that efforts should be made to maximally shorten the period of harvesting this year's good yields in order to avoid any losses. Speaking of specific decisions, he instructed individual departments to urgently examine all possibilities for improving the current supplies of spare parts to agriculture; batteries, tires and engines to farm produce transportation means; fuels to dairies; and coal for potato processing ot the agricultural circle cooperatives. By the end of September agriculture must also receive 250 tons of primed seeds. Decisions were made concerning an earlier review of the purchases of plant protection chemicals for next year's purposes. R. Malinowski also noted that the industry should devise such a system of prices and other measures within the economic reform as will make factories interested in the production to meet the needs of the food economy.

PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING ECONOMIC REFORM MEASURES

LD141838 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] The implementation of the economic reform should begin next January.

In the opinion of Wladyslaw Baka, government plenipotentiary for matters of reform its most important stage, the legislative phase, has begun.

Work on the bills on state enterprises and workers' self-management has been considerably delayed. However, the bills ought to be completed and passed by the Sejm by the end of September.

Work on the establishment of new prices for basic raw materials, fuels and energy as well as agreement on the principles for establishing the prices of products made according to plan should be finished in November, and the prices should come into effect by the middle of next year. In December the reorganization of the central organs of state administration will be completed.

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY MINISTER AT ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

LD142322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] A party economic conference devoted to the work of the chemical industry for food economy has been held in the headquarters of the PZPR Central Committee.

Minister of the Chemical and Light Industry Jan Knapik said at this conference that difficulties in supplying agriculture with chemical products are the results of a failure to implement the chemistry for the food economy program adopted in 1974. It was recognized at that time that full satisfaction of the needs of agriculture requires Z63 billion to be assigned for investment projects in the chemical industry. Less than one-third of this sum has been provided. Hence, unless considerable changes are made in the national structure of investment projects, it will be impossible to implement the tasks facing the chemical industry as a result of the food problem.

WARSAW UPDATED KONIN SITUATION AFTER DISTURBANCES

LD111520 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Following yesterday's street disturbances, Konin has been calm since the morning. The town is being patrolled by reinforced order-keeping [sily porzadkowe] forces. Nonetheless, appeals have been made to the public not to leave their homes in the evening.

The Konin NSZZ Solidarity has printed a leaflet with an appeal not to take part in street gatherings. Priests have been asked to explain things. Alcohol sales were banned in the town yesterday.

Army Units Patrol Town

LD111900 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Calm prevails in Konin since this morning, after the hooligan excesses took place yesterday. The town is being patrolled by reinforced units of the militia and the Army.

Forty people were arrested during the intervention of law and order. The Konin voivoda introduced summary procedures in the collegia for misdemeanors and breech of peace in public places.

During the events yesterday, the intervening forces of law and order employed legal means of coercion; batons and other equipment were at the disposal of the functionaries, with the exception of firearms.

Sale of alchol was banned in the town. The Citizens' Militia under supervision by the prosecutor's office is carrying out an extensive investigation aimed at identifying and arresting those guilty of breech of public order.

GOVERNMENT, TU FIGURES ATTEND GLEMP INAUGURATION

LD132102 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] The solemn procession to Gniezno Cathedral with Archbishop Jozef Glemp, archbishop-metropolitan of Gniezno and Warsaw and primate of Poland, is taking place in Gniezno. The ceremony began at St Michael Church. From there the primate of Poland, escorted by the clergy and faithful, passed through the streets of the town along what is known as the St Adalbert route to the cathedral, where the main ceremonies are taking place. Numerous delegations are taking part in the ceremony, including a government delegation with Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, a delegation from the voivodship and municipal authorities in Gniezno, and a delegation from Solidarity with the union's chairman, Lech Walesa. There are also representatives of Lublin Catholic University and the Theological Academy in Warsaw, and also of all papal theological chairs in the country.

A decree of the Holy See appointing the Rev Josef Glemp to the office of primate of Poland will be read in the cathedral. Next a holy mass will be celebrated, during which the primate will deliver a sermon.

Primate Glemp Homily

LD132110 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Excerpts] The event of the day in the country today was the procession to Gniezno Cathedral with Archbishop Josef Glemp, metropolitan of Gniezno and Warsaw, primate of Poland.

After passing to the square in front of the cathedral, the primate, surrounded by bishops, [words indistinct] archdiocese, concelebrated a holy mass during which he delivered a homily devoted to the problems of man (?which constitute) the first path along which the church should move in carrying out its mission. It is necessary to acquaint oneself with the path of man in his specific situation, when he is troubled and when there are threats in his life, when he is nervous and uncertain, Archbishop Glemp said. Man, exhausted by the difficulties of social and economic life, irritated about lines, discouraged in work enterprises because of the lack of raw materials, switches on the television when he returns home to hear at last something more constructive; and when he hears only accusations, condemnations, and groans, he switches the television off and shuts off the path to his inner self, isolating himself, and he himself becomes one of the confines of the earth.

At the end of his homily, the father primate stated that it sometimes seems that everyone has become hardened against everyone else, but this is only an impression. Behind the layer of embitterment and passion, behind the wolf-like baring of teeth toward one another, there is concealed our different, Christian, nature.

POOR STATE OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION REPORTED

LD121355 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Text] Drastic restrictions as a result of a shortage of spare parts and fuel have affected urban transportation, which in any case has been unable for some time now to cope with needs. In August more than 800 streetcars and [word indistinct] buses were out of commission as a result of a shortage of tires and batteries.

Examining the situation in urban Transportation, the Anticrisis Headquarters has adopted a decision making it incumbent on the Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry to supply 50,000 tires and 30,000 inner tubes in the second half of this year, and on the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry to provide 1,500 batteries and 100,000 plates needed to restore these vehicles to operation.

It is worth adding that the workforces of transportation enterprises are not hanging about doing nothing, waiting for an improvement in the situation. A factory for retreading tires has been started in Lodz and initiatives of this type are being prepared throughout the country.

SEJM COMMISSIONS HOLD JOINT SESSION 11 SEPTEMBER

LD112308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] The Sejm Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and the Sejm Commission for Legislative Work are holding a joint session today. During the session, which is to last 2 days, government draft statutes on state enterprises and on the self-management of workforces will be examined.

On the first day the deputies discussed exclusively matters pertaining to the future model of state enterprises and of the self-management workforces. These issues, particularly in the light of the latest resolution of the national Solidarity congress, give rise to the most controversies. The special subcommission which was doing its work to date prepared new verions of these drafts which in many points are essentially different from the original government drafts. As a result of the work done by the subcommission, in which representatives of union organizations, the government and scientific-technical organizations took part, a reduction in the gap between stances was achieved in many issues or compromise solutions were found. Matters pertaining to the scope of the rights of self-management and the procedure for appointing directors continue, however, to give rise to controversy.

Taking part in the deliberations of the commissions are representatives of trade unions, including Solidarity. The resolution of the first national congress in the matter of self-management which was presented by them was received with sharp opposition and plain indignation by many deputies. This resolution is viewed as a kind of ultimatum to the Sejm which is the sovereign body of state authority.

Enterprise Management Discussed

LD121105 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Text] The Sejm Commission for Legislative Work and the Sejm Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances held a joint session yesterday and discussed the draft statutes on enterprises and the self-management of workforces.

The stance formulated by a special subcommission was put forward by its Chairman Prof Adam Lopatka. The subcommission's formula on the most disputed matter relating to the procedure for appointing directors is that directors should be appointed by a founding body with the agreement of the council and workforce. At the same time and at the suggestion of the government the principle of competition has been introduced as generally binding. The draft statute introduced the principle of the three "s's"--every state enterprise ought to be independent [samodzielnosc] self-governing and self-financing.

Prof Wladyslaw Baka, minister responsible for matters of the reform, also put forward the proposal that a rule should be introduced that a worker's council can appeal to the founding body to have a director dismissed. The appeal can be upheld in a binding decision after investigatory proceedings have been carried out. This proposal was accepted by the deputies.

Prof Witold Zakrzewski, chairman of the first part of the deliberations, said that the work of the subcommission in which Solidarity took part on a broad scale proves that the Sejm is striving to draw up statutes which will be acceptable to the entire public.

INAUGURAL SESSION OF LABOR LAW REFORM COMMISSION

LD141942 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] The inaugural meeting of the Commission for Labor Law Reform, set up by degree of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, took place in the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs in Warsaw today.

The commission, chaired by Minister Antoni Rajkiewicz, consists of representatives of trade unions, social organizations and vocational organizations, representatives of legal science and practice, as well as of central state bodies. The objective of setting up the commission was to create conditions for full utilization of social initiatives in legislative work, and to be able to take into consideration various concepts and opinions related to the amendment of this sphere of law.

The most urgent task of the commission is to prepare within the next 2 months a draft for changes to the labor code to an extent which will permit the adaptation of the labor law regulations to the country's new socioeconomic situation, the assumptions of the economic reform, and the implementation of the concluded social agreements. Draft changes to the executive legal acts to the labor code and regulations, which determine the manner of settling problems emerging from employment and social insurance relations, should be prepared simultaneously. In the second stage, that is after the necessary corrections to the labor code regulations, the commission will deal with the preparation of assumptions for a long-term reform of the system in this sphere of law, and the draft for a new code of labor and wages with executive acts. [sentence as heard]

WRN COUNCILLORS STATEMENT ON BYDGOSZCZ INQUIRY

LD142313 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] A team of young councillors of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council [WRN] has published a statement in connection with the discontinuation of the investigation into the so-called Bydgoszcz events. They are concerned about the lack of an official stance on the part of the Council of State on the proposal of the WRN in Bydgoszcz. The young councillors go on to say in the statement that a significant divergence has arisen between the assessments of the WRN and the voivodship prosecutor's office in Bydgoszcz, although the councillors themselves constitute a fair number of witnesses to these events.

SLOWO POWSZECHNE VIEWS BLACK MARKET, SPECULATION

AU101558 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 8 Sep 81 p 3

[Stanislaw Drozdowski article: "Black Market's Secret Channels"]

[Excerpts] The black market has its dishonest but iron laws of supply and demand. The jumping values of the Western currencies illustrate the distrust in and the inflation of the Polish zloty. Within a single week the value of $1 went from Z180 to Z280, and its present value is Z300. The value of DM1 went from Z80 to Z130, and to Z150 in Opole. The values of Western currencies have also increased in other regions. The decreasing purchasing power of the zloty, whose value is not fully matched by the supply of goods, is illustrated by the feverishly increasing prices for attractive goods sold by the Polish economic underground. It is underground.

One of the old hands called "Mydelko," who completed just six grades of primary school, thus explained the scope of the present speculation as he waited in line for cigarettes in Opole:

"Before, we had sheer professionals. We used to legally buy vodka or some other attractive goods in shops and then waited for a favorable moment. And now? All kinds of scum and thousands of amateurs have emerged and are trying to turn a penny. You have grandmas, pensioners, saleswomen, goods drivers, various small-time crooks and other bunglers, who have created utter chaos in a respectable business. A scandal, is it not?"

How do goods find their way to the black market--goods such as alcohol, champagne, stockings, coffee, bathroom soap, detergents, shampoo, razor blades, candies, fats and various materials? At what point between producer and consumer are goods intercepted by the black market and become the spoils of speculators, who illegally trade them at prices many times above the regular prices?

Speculation begins as soon as people receive the coupons for the rationed goods: butter, margarine, meat, tobacco, detergents, sugar, alcohol and cereals.

The economic underground buys out the unused coupons for cigarettes and sugar, which is either traded or turned into moonshine. A sheet of cigarette coupons brings Z600 to Z800 in the black market, and many nonsmokers--their number has greatly increased recently--immediately sell their coupons. A sheet of sugar coupons brings in over Z1,000. Speculators ask Z200 for 1 kg of sugar, which many families buy for their small children because their sugar rations are not enough; or turn sugar into moonshine. Thus a single sugar coupon covers the cost of an entire sheet of coupons with a bit left over. This is why there is a black market in the coupons intercepted by black marketeers. Coupons for cereals and meat are not traded because the former are not attractive enough as yet, and the latter will not be sold because everyone needs meat. The black market buys out additional supplies of meat and smoked meats for the additionally printed coupons. Every month more meat coupons are printed than there are people in Poland! A check in the Gorniak Market in Lodz revealed that traders have valid meat coupons in their possession.

The goods meant to reach the consumers from the producers are intercepted during their passage along three distribution channels:

--The opponents of the government and some sectors of the public maintain that the authorities store up the goods in demand so that the population does not get them.

--Goods supplied by wholesale stores to retail shops are hidden by the sales personnel at the back of such shops. The retail shops possessing hidden goods are the biggest suppliers of goods in demand to the economic underground. This is a new and massive phenomenon in Poland.

--Goods in demand are hoarded by small traders who--thanks to their patience--are able to wait in lines and who buy out goods at normal prices by resorting to almost insignificant swindles. There is a large number of such traders, but they are satisfied with the leftovers and the bits and pieces of what was lucky enough to get through the gauntlet of the goods drivers and storemen. These traders are small-time amateurs running tiny selling joints, which are multiplying like mushrooms after rain.

The horizontal exchanges of attractive goods among producers on the principle of "we supply you with coffee and you supply us with chocolates and candies or with poultry because you have all that" are of a certain destructive significance and regularity. Everyone closes his eyes to such exchanges--trade unions, managements and executive committees--because such goods find their way to the workforces via the factory kiosks all the same.

What conclusions can we draw from all that? Improvised measures and a system of control and restrictions have most extensively and strongly affected the last link in the chain of speculation--the retail traders in open markets and shabby joints. However, these measures have had little impact on the second link of the speculation chain--retail stores which hoard goods in the back in order to dispose of them illegally.

If the measures are spearheaded against retial stores, the flow of goods to traders will be cut off. This is why that black market channel should be the priority target of the surprise measures used by the antispeculation squades. Trapping that criminal link is a very easy task: It is enough to check whether the wholesale invoices jibe with the goods delivered to the retail store, which must endorse the invoices.

One thing is certain: In order to liquidate speculation and the gigantic economic underground, we must employ entirely different means and action methods--economic, structural and monetary. We must simply observe the iron economic laws, the pooh-poohing of which has produced the entire present evil reigning in the official and underground markets.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON PEASANT CRITICISM OF AUTHORITIES

AU111420 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Sep 81 p 2

[Jerzy Kasprzycki report: "The New Has Not Reached the Bug River"]

[Text] A year ago when the areas along the Bug River learned more fully about the changes sweeping the country, a farmer asked me the following question in front of the rural parish cooperative in Brok on the Bug in August 1980:

"Why are you talking so much in Gdansk and Warsaw about some renewal? That everything will be candid, courageous and without swindles? If this is really to be so, then how will we in Brok be able to make ends meet? Now when lies and cheating are rampant we are able to live. Say, I need coal and go to the storekeeper to get some; but he lies in his teeth that there is no coal. At the same time, he tells me with a wink that we could reach a deal. The upshot of it is that I get my coal. But if truth and courage are to prevail, the same storekeeper will say to me, truthfully and courageously: 'There is no coal and it is no use dealing with me. I have turned honest. Ask the voivodship authorities in Ostroleka.' I tell you, we have enough trouble as it is with our local organization, but if this trouble is augmented by truth and courage then we will give up the ghost...."

During that memorable August 1980 these prophesies made in Brok on the Bug seemed to me excessively pessimistic. After all, the new was on the march from the direction of the sea and the Vistula!

A year has passed. In August 1981 in neighboring Wyszkow on the Bug I heard:

"Not a stir! It is more and more difficult to make ends meet. Nothing can be decided on the spot. They send you to Ostroleka with the most petty question, and it is 80 km to Ostroleka, what with road diversions. In the old days when Wyszkow was within Warsaw Voivodship we were 50 km away from the voivodship and we had a district in the bargain. Look: My grandfather told me that the building that is now housing a post office was headquarters of the 'Forward Farmers' Circle'--a farm and food company--which had been set up before World War I. Today we have no self-government, and we feel like the blinkered horses in a mill going round and round within a strictly defined circle. Although we work for Warsaw and many commute to Warsaw, today we are governed by the decrees issued in Ostroleka, where they do not understand our needs and local links...."

A few days ago I read in DZIENNIK LUDOWY a rural reader's letter: "Instead of bringing the authorities closer to the working people, they have erected an enormous wall of expanded bureaucracy which devours our country like rust devours automobiles. The upshot of this is that no work is done by the People's Councils, especially by thr rural People's Councils...."

Demands for local self-government are resounding today much more vociferously than a year ago because of the experience gained this year. On the eve of the general economic reform the issue has grown to a crucial size in the eyes of the people in Brok and Wyszkow and thousands and thousands of similar small places in which renewal, truth and candor are becoming more and more of a liability because they are not accompanied by tangible changes in the structures and work style of the local authorities.

SOVIET SOCIETY HEAD ON STRENGTHENING USSR TIES

LD111540 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Sep 81

["Popularizing the Truth About Cooperation"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Sep (PAP)--Behind us there is a great political struggle which has lasted almost a year, during which the most important matter for members in the aktiv of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and the masses of its members was to defend the basic principles of Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation between the two peoples, and to ward off attacks from the opponents of socialism and our friendship, said Waclaw Barszczewski, secretary general of the governing board of the society, in an interview with the Warsaw weekly. PRZYJAZN.

Barszczewski pointed out at the same time that society withstood the test in this political battle and not only did not give in, was not routed, but withstood and is developing and conducting a lively activity. The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress clearly confirmed once again that the cornerstone of its policy in the sphere of international relations is friendship and cooperation with the USSR. This was very important not only for the party but also for the overwhelming majority in society which truly favors cooperation with the USSR and which rejects attempts to spread distrust between the peoples of Poland and the USSR.

In an atmosphere of growing political activity by certain groups in society the governing body of the Polish-Soviety Friendship Society sees its role in providing the aktiv with all information which is of wide interest, Barszczewski pointed out.

The secretary general of the society's board also stressed that many meetings of the aktiv and members of the board are planned. At the concluding stage of the report-back and election campaign of the society the results of work will be assessed and tasks for the coming months defined at meetings. This will be an important consolidation and will attract new groups of people dedicated to the society's ideals toward positive action.

Soon the latest Soviet song competition will open and there will be the regular Russian language competitions and competitions on knowledge of the USSR as well as others. We are hoping that the new aktiv and new members will help to enrich the society's program.

Much remains to be done. The political campaign, the most difficult period of which is already behind us, Barszczewski said, is not yet over. Our aim is not only to save the principles of the idea of friendship with the USSR, but also to popularize them widely among the people. Our aim, the basic aim of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, is activity to bring the two people closer together, to strengthen friendly relations which serve the higher aims--the development of Poland as well as of the fraternal country of the Soviets, he said in conclusion.

MEETING OF PZPR, ZSL, SD PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

Joint Discussions

LD142034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] A joint meeting of the Presidium of the PZPR, ZSL and SD partiamentary parties was held in Warsaw.

The meeting discussed the main trends in the work of the parliamentary PZPR, emerging from the decisions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, and of the parliamentary SD connected with the decisions of the 12th SD Congress. Matters related to further activities in connection with certain important draft bills which are currently being examined by individual commissions, and matters related to the next Sejm session were also dealt with during the meeting.

A great deal of attention was paid to streamlining the work of the Sejm and of the Sejm commissions. The decisions made during the meeting will bring about a further raising of the Sejm's status in promoting the process of socialist renewal and in implementing social agreements.

Leaders Attending

LD142300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] A meeting was held today at the office of the SD Central Committee between the central party liaison commission of the PZPR, the SD and the ZSL. The PZPR Central Committee was represented by: Stanislaw Kania, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stefan Olszowski, and Zbigniew Michalek. The ZSL Supreme Committee was represented by: Stefan Ignar, Jozef Kukulka, Jerzy Szymanek, Waldemar Winkiel and Ryszard Nowak. The SD Central Committee was represented by Edward Kowalczyk, Jozef [name indistinct], Jan (Pajecki), Jozef Musiol and Marek Wieczorek. The meeting was chaired by Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the SD Central Committee.

The country's sociopolitical situation was assessed, and the participants in the meeting were acquainted with the main actions undertaken by the government in the social and economic sectors.

Barcikowski Chairs Meeting

LD142320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Excerpts] A joint meeting of the presidiums of the parliamentary parties took place in the capital. The meeting was chaired by Kazimierz Barcikowski, head of the parliamentary PZPR.

MOSCOW TALKS ON ECONOMIC, TRADE COOPERATION NOTED

LD111724 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Talks between planning officials of the Polish and Soviet Councils of Ministers were held in Moscow this week. The talks were aimed at defining the directions of development of economic and trade cooperation for next year. Stanislaw Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, led the Polish delegation.

During its visit to Moscow, the Polish delegation was received by Nikolay Baybakov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Planning Committee. Issues connected with coordinating mutual deliveries of goods next year were discussed.

PAP CRITICIZES U.S. STANCE ON SIBERIAN GAS PIPELINE

LD150937 Warsaw PAP in English 0815 GMT 15 Sep 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Sep (PAP)--Commenting on "the American displeasure and sharp objection" raised by the plan to lay a gas pipe from Siberia to Western Europe, TRYBUNA LUDU's Moscow correspondent wrote today that "this has come as a result of a more general conception of the economic policy pursued by the administration of President Reagan, which would like to curb the economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

"The United States is trying to prevent the conclusion of agreement under the pretext that West Europe might grow dependent on the Soviet Union.

"The American arguments are, mildly speaking, strange and illogical. It might be worthwhile of recalling that not long ago the U.S. propaganda has widely disseminated, i.a. a report about drying oil-wells in the Soviet Union," said the paper adding that the USSR is the only country in the world that is thoroughly self-reliant as concerns crude oil and natural gas.

"The Soviet Union has ever been and is a trusty trade partner. It bases its relations with other countries on the principle of mutual advantages. The development of economic cooperation with states of different social systems has always been treated in the Soviet Union as an important element of the strengthening of peace coexistence," stressed TRYBUNA LUDU's correspondent in conclusion.

PZPR MEMBERS MEET WITH FRENCH CP OFFICIALS

LD142332 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Paris, 14 Sep (PAP)--Maxim Gremetz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the French Communist Party [PCF] Central Committee, had a meeting with Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the PZPR Politburo, who is in Paris for the L'Humanite Festival. The meeting allowed an all-round exchange of views. Maxim Gremetz illuminated the new situation which has arisen in France as a result of the victory of the left, and the entry of communist ministers into the government. Jan Glowczyk, for his part, described the situation in Poland.

Both men also discussed questions of cooperation between France and Poland. They also dealt with international questions, especially problems of peace and detente.

Jan Glowczyk and Maxim Gremetz stressed the will of the PZPR and the PCF to continue to develop cooperation between the two parties.

JABLONSKI RECEIVES VISITING FRENCH SENATORS

LD112132 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Sep (PAP)--Today a delegation of France-Pologne Friendship Group in the French Senate ended its visit to Poland, paid on the invitation of the Polish-French parliamentary group in the Sejm.

On Friday, president of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski received the French senators in his offical residence in the Belweder Palace.

The talk was conducted in a friendly atmosphere, covered international problems and issues connected with Polish-French bilateral cooperation. The French senators were also interested in Poland's situation and the ways of overcoming the economic crisis.

Also on Friday the delegation, headed by vice-president of the French Senate and President of the France-Pologne group Maurice Schumann, was received by minister of foreign affairs, Josef Czyrek.

They discussed a number of issues, including East-West relations, problems of disarmament and detente and some bilateral matters.

GLOS PRACY URGES MORE TRADE WITH THIRD WORLD

LD142104 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Sep (PAP)--GLOS PRACY strongly criticized a stereotype of purchases ruling Poland's foreign trade for the past decade, which resulted in this country's huge foreign debt. "The stereotype consisted in [words indistinct] excessive engagement in unequal trade with the highly industrialized nations and lack of appreciation for trade with the developing countries," the author of the article said. Hence, Poland was buying industrial products in the West only, and her trade with the third world was limited to the import of raw materials, a price which further degenerated into extensive buying of raw materials from Western countries acting as a middleman. As a result, the third world countries' share in Poland's foreign purchases last year reached a mere 9.5 per cent.

In this context, the paper postulated taking into [words indistinct] import of industrial goods from the developing countries and said there are ample possibilities for striking profitable co-production links with at least some of the developing nations. The paper also pointed to the need for finding new suppliers of raw materials to replace Western partners, and stressed [word indistinct] prospects for Polish exports to those countries.

"I am deeply convinced that unless we do away with the stereotype in our activities in the world market, real progress in our foreign trade and in this country's entire economy will be impossible," the author declared. "The Ministry of Foreign Trade should closely survey the world in the present decade to find new profitable sources of importable goods and make use of all the changes to be introduced in this country's economy," he said.

FOREIGN MINISTER CZYREK'S ARRIVAL IN HAVANA NOTED

LD132240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek arrived in Cuba today. Among those who met him at the Havana airport was Cuban Foreign Relations Minister Isidoro Malmierca.

JARUZELSKI WELCOMES VISITING IRAQI DEPUTY PREMIER

LD150158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 15 Sep 81

[Text] Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolution Command Council and first deputy prime minister of Iraq, has arrived in Warsaw during the night. The guest was welcomed at the airport by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski. The objective of the visit is the further development of cooperation between Poland and Iraq.

RADIO CITES TASS STATEMENT ON ZAPAD MANEUVERS

AU141318 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] TASS reports that exercises were held under the name "Zapad-81" between 4 and 12 September on the territory of the military regions of Belorussia, the Baltic area and the Baltic Sea. The exercises incorporated units of the USSR army and navy led by Defense Minister Marshal Dimitriy Ustinov. The exercises were attended by defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states, and the defense ministers of Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam. The military units which took part in the exercises are returning to base.

KUWAIT'S AMIR AS-SABAH ENDS STATE VISIT

Dinner Held 13 Sep

AU141035 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0850 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Sep (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, met again the amir of the state of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, at a dinner in the evening of September 13.

During the dinner, that passed in a warm atmosphere of friendship, the two heads of state continued the exchange of views on bilateral and international problems of mutual interest.

The guest appreciated highly the socio-economic achievements of Romania.

Romania's president and the amir of Kuwait expressed full satisfaction and the fruitful results of the talks, the wish to develop the Romanian-Kuwaiti collaboration on a bilateral plane and in the international life, too, to the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace and cooperation in the world.

Protocol Signed 13 Sep

AU141038 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Sep (AGERPRES)--A protocol of Romanian-Kuwaiti economic collaboration was signed on September 13 on the occasion of the visit paid to Romania at President Nicolae Ceausescu's invitation by His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of the state of Kuwait.

As an expression of the mutual wish to strengthen the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, the document stipulates the further development and diversification of the trade exchanges and economic cooperation between Romania and Kuwait in various domains of activity.

The document was signed by Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and by Jasim Khalid al-Marzuq, minister of trade and industry.

DANISH COMMUNIST DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU101910 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1832 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Sep (AGERPRES)--A delegation of the Danish Communist Party [DCP] led by Ib Nordlund, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the DCP, paid a visit of friendship to Romania over September 7-10 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

The Danish delegation had talks at the headquarters of the CC of the RCP, of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania and State Planning Committee, and saw round economic units and social establishments in Bucharest, in Prahova and Brasov counties.

At the end of their visit, the delegation of the Danish Communist Party met Virgil Cazacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Messages were exchanged on the occasion between RCP secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu and Joergen Jensen, chairman of the Danish Communist Party.

During the talks reference was made to the good relations existing between the Romanian Communist Party and the Danish Communist Party, the wish being expressed that, in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect, of the talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Joergen Jensen, the relations between the two parties further develop in the interest of the Romanian and Danish peoples, of the cause of peace, security and national independence, of progress and collaboration among nations.

Aspects of the current international situation were also approached.

The talks passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

MAURITANIAN FISHERIES MINISTER VISITING

Meets Ceausescu

AU121731 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Lt Col Soumare Silman, member of the Military Committee for National Salvation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and minister of fisheries and maritime economy, who is paying a visit to our country. The meeting was attended by Marin Capisizu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and head of the Food Industry Department. Ohameden Ould Ahmedou Salem, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to Bucharest, was also present.

The Mauritanian minister extended friendly greetings and wishes for personal health to President Nicolae Ceausescu on behalf of Lt Col Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and chief of state and government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, as well as the latter's high appreciation for the Romanian head of state. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu thanked the guest and extended best wishes to the Mauritanian head of state and the members of the Military Committee for National Salvation as well as wishes for prosperity and well-being to the Mauritanian people.

During the talk, the sides pointed out the good relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Mauritania and examined ways and means to expand and develop cooperation ties between the two countries. They assessed that agriculture and fishing are important fields in which Romania and Mauritania can diversify their mutually advantageous cooperation. They established guidelines for Romanian-Mauritanian cooperation in this important field of the national economies of the two countries and stressed that the development of comprehensive cooperation between Romania and Mauritania serves the development of the two economies and the cause of peace and cooperation in the world.

During the exchange of views on topical international issues, the sides emphasized the need to intensify cooperation between developing and nonaligned countries and within various international bodies in order to accelerate their socioeconomic development, to eliminate underdevelopment and build a new world economic order. They also expressed the desire for Romania and Mauritania to continue to cooperate internationally to make a greater contribution to resolving mankind's great problems.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

Andrei Receives Mauritanian

AU111923 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 11 Sep (AGERPRES)--Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei and Lt Col Soumare Silman, member of the Military Committee for National Salvation, minister of fisheries and marine economy of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, now visiting Romania, analyzed modalities of promoting the relations between Romania and Mauritania and of developing the collaboration between the two countries on an international plane. The interview took place on Friday, September 11.

Talks With Burtica

AU111038 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0956 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 11 Sep (AGERPRES)--Cornel Burtica, Romanian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Lieutenant Colonel Soumare Silmane, member of the committee for National Salvation, minister of fisheries and maritime economy of Mauritania, conducted talks on September 11 on questions regarding the diversification and expansion of commercial exchanges and economic cooperation in the fields of shipbuilding, pisciculture and food industry.

DEPUTY PREMIER RECEIVES BOTSWANA MINISTER

AU141950 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Sep (AGERPRES)--Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister of Romania and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received on September 15 Mme Doctor G.K.T. Chiepe, minister of mineral resources and water affairs of the Republic of Botswana, now visiting Bucharest. The same day, talks started between Ion Lazarescu, minister of mines, and Mme Doctor G.K.T. Chiepe. They analyzed possibilities of cooperation between Botswana and Romania in mining, especially in the tapping and exploitation of coal, salt, nonferrous and precious metal deposits.

SECOND NATIONAL CHEMISTRY CONGRESS CONCLUDES

AU101324 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Summary] "The proceedings of the second national chemistry congress, which was held under the high sponsorship of Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, first deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government and chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, ended today in Bucharest."

The discussions dealt with the most current trends and tendencies in scientific research in this field and stressed practical procedures for priority fields of the national economy.

POLAND ENTERS INTO 'CONTEXT' OF BALTIC MANEUVERS

LD141500 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1124 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)--The Soviet military manoeuvres in the Baltic and north-western Belorussia are described by the Belgrade POLITIKA's Moscow correspondent as unprecedented, simultaneous land, sea and air operations. Enumerating Soviet top military figures who attended the manoeuvres -- Marshals Ustinov, Ogarkov and Kulikov and General of the Army Yepishev -- the correspondent concludes that the complete top-command staff of the Soviet Army in peace time acted during the manoeuvres as the supreme command in war time.

The correspondent notes that the greatest attention was devoted to the so called "northern" troops which had offensive tasks and performed a seaborne landing operation on the Baltic coast. In their reports from the manoeuvres, TV reporters almost openly "rooted" for these troops.

The correspondent cites the opinion of some observers that one of the objectives of the manoeuvres -- if not the principal -- was to demonstrate the high level of Soviet Army's combat preparedness at a time of intensified political confrontation in the West and the absence of negotiations on arms limitation.

POLITIKA notes that in a speech after the manoeuvres yesterday Marshal Ustinov severely criticized the U.S. and NATO policy not only because of the West's avoidance to negotiate the halting of the arms race, but also because of the U.S. policy of proclaiming a series of regions in the world the spheres of its "vital interests".

The correspondent quotes Ustinov: "The imperialist reactionaries are doing everything possible to undermine the bases of social system in the socialist community countries, proof of which are West's constant attempts to interfere in the events in Poland."

Thus, in the assessment of the correspondent, Poland has in a certain manner entered "the context" of the military manoeuvres in the Baltic Sea although Moscow has so far never or in any way linked the situation in Poland with the maneouvres.

The change, according to the correspondent, ensued because of the complication in the situation around Poland following the Solidarity congress appeal to the Poles of Eastern Europe which Moscow described as an "insolent provocation and interference in the affairs of others."

BORDER TOWN MEETING WITH BULGARIA CANCELED

LD112156 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Skopje, 11 Sep (TANJUG)--A border meeting between the people of the municipality of Delcevo in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the people of the town of Simitli in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, was to be held on 13 September within the framework of border cooperation between the SFRY and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which is regulated by a special agreement.

The border meeting will not be held because of the insistence of the commission of the town of Simitli to introduce political stances, contents and manifestations at the meeting which are opposed to the agreement reached between the competent organs of the two countries regarding the character and aims of these border meetings.

We continue to be interested -- says the statement by the commission of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Macedonia for international cooperation and relations -- in the development of all forms of cooperation of mutual interest, including also border meetings, but in the spirit of principles and agreements on cooperation between our two countries.

REPORTAGE OF DANISH PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

Mojsov Receives Jorgensen

LD112310 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0915 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)--League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency President Lazar Mojsov today conferred with Social-Democratic Party of Denmark President Anker Jorgensen, who is visiting Yugoslavia in the property [as received] of Danish prime minister.

Mojsov and Jorgensen exchanged views on a number of topical international questions and information on the internal socioeconomic and political trends in Yugoslavia and Denmark.

Lazar Mojsov spoke about certain aspects of economic and political trends in Yugoslavia, the economic stabilization measures and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia activity in preparations for the 12th LCY Congress.

The mutual readiness was stated for promoting relations between the LCY and the Socialist Alliance of the working people of Yugoslavia and the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark as an important factor of strengthening overall bilateral relations between the two countries and equality-based international cooperation in general.

Talks in Sarajevo

AU111650 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Enes Mustabasic report]

[Text] Continuing his official and friendly visit of several days to Yugoslavia, Danish Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen arrived today in Sarajevo on a 1-day visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina. Milanko Renovica, president of the Bosinia-Hercegovina Executive Council, together with his associates, received the distinguished guest at the airport. Enes Mustabasic, Sarajevo radio journalist, reports on the Danish prime minister's visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina:

Following the formal welcome at the Sarajevo airport, the guests from friendly Denmark began their 1-day visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina with talks with Milanko Renovica, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Executive Council. During the talks at the Executive Council, President Milanko Renovica briefed the Danish guests on the current problems of the republic's socioeconomic development. During the continuation of the talks on bilateral cooperation, it was mutually noted that the traditional friendly relations between our two countries are not accompanied by sufficient economic cooperation even though real conditions and numerous opportunities for such cooperation exist. In this connection it was pointed out that the participation of the Bosnia-Hercegovina economy in advancing the full range of economic relations between the SFRY and the Kingdom of Denmark should be intensified. The view was expressed that in the coming period more complex forms of cooperation in the timber and woodworking, textile, metal processing and food industries, in agriculture and in tourism as well as in the fields of science, culture, education and information should be especially developed on a long-term basis.

The Danish prime minister was especially interested in the specific characteristics and potentials of agricultural production in the republic and of cooperation between the Bosnia-Hercegovina agricultural organizations and the appropriate partners in Denmark. The Danish prime minister also expressed interest in the system's solutions in the fields of education and health.

During the talks Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen very highly praised our workers who are temporarily employed in Denmark. It was mutually noted that the Yugoslavs living and working in that country are contributing to advancing the full range of relations between Yugoslavia and Denmark.

After the talks at the Executive Council, the Danish prime minister and his associates visited the UPI [United Agriculture, Trade and Industry] composite organization of associated labor. Rizo Sermanagic, president of the UPI managing committee, first of all briefed the guests on the place and the importance of the UPI system in the Yugoslav economy, a system which is one of the most highly developed food producing, processing and distributing systems in our country. In the talks Danish Prime Minister Jorgensen and his associates expressed interest in the UPI's export and import potentials. The possibilities for expanding the commodity trade and cooperation between the UPI and other Yugoslav producers on the one hand and Danish food producers and processers and the Danish economy in general on the other were especially examined within this framework. A short film on the UPI's production processes and the course of development of that collective was also shown to the high guests from Denmark.

In the afternoon the prime minister of friendly Denmark will tour the cultural and historical monuments of Sarajevo. It is expected that at about 1700 GMT the Danish prime minister will conclude his 1-day visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina and leave for Dubrovnik.

Jorgensen Departs

LD132026 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] Dubrovnik, 13 Sep (TANJUG)--Danish Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen left today for Denmark after a 5-day official visit to Yugoslavia. President of the Yugoslav Executive Council Veselin Djuranovic was at Dubrovnik airport to bid cordial farewell to the Danish prime minister.

DJURANOVIC COMMENTS ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

LD112145 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 11 Sep 81

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Sep (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, opened the Zagreb International Autumn Fair this morning. Speaking on this occasion, he emphasized that this year's fair is being held at a time when our country is making great efforts to realize the economic stabilization policy, and to create the conditions for realizing the major tasks set out in the Yugoslav social plan and the plans of the republics and provinces for 1981-85. Among the most important tasks on which all organized social forces in our country are working are the stabilization of the balance of payments and the control of inflation, while ensuring the conditions for a suitable growth in industrial production which, in its level and structure, will be a function of the realization of the basic demands of the stabilization policy.

"An improvement in the country's balance of payments and the controlling of inflation, Djuranovic emphasized, are the two most important tasks, mutually linked and interdependent. Therefore, the most important thing for the stabilization of the balance of payments by means of reducing its deficit is to increase the foreign currency inflow by dynamic export of goods and greater receipts on invisible trade. The first condition for an increase in exports in current circumstances is that the growth of domestic prices should slow down more meaningfully, in order to ensure greater competitiveness of our export goods. In conditions of high inflation the chances of increasing exports are extremely limited. Therefore, a slowing down of the growth in domestic prices, with a series of other economic policy measures aimed at stimulating exports, will create realistic conditions for its increase. Of course, at the same time we must work constantly to improve the quality of products, consolidate the long-term orientation toward exports, raise the level of quality, design and so forth.

The results which we have achieved in the past 8 months of this year with a view to improving the balance of payments, despite some positive movements, are not satisfactory and it will be necessary to take further measures before the end of the year in order to realize the country's projected balance of payments. For example, we have achieved a relatively high rate of growth of industrial production in the past months of this year, but this also brought with it a high growth in the import of reproduction material and raw materials, without producing at the same time the planned export growth rate. Really, the growth in overall exports is not accompanied by the relevant regional distribution, and in this respect the established projection has even been violated.

The value of exports up to the end of August this year is higher than in the same period in 1980--nominally about 16 percent, and in real terms about 3 percent--but is about 6 percent less than was planned. This lower level of exports was influenced primarily by a fall in the export of ships, wood and building material, nonferrous metals and young beef. The export of these products was almost half that of the same period last year. Remaining exports were, in value terms, 30 percent higher and thereby maintained a high growth rate of 15 percent in real terms, which is 8 percent more than planned.

On the other hand, however, up to the end of August fewer goods payable in convertible currencies were exported than in the same period in 1980--1 percent less, which is about 20 percent down on what was planned; while at the same time 52 percent more goods were exported through clearing payments than in the same period last year, which is 14 percent more than planned. There is no doubt that the trends designated point to the need for efforts to be strengthened in the coming months, and for further measures to be taken to ensure the realization of the relations in the country's balance of payments as set out for this year.

This year's trends in this sphere confirm the previous assessments that the economic stabilization policy is not a short-term task, and that it cannot be realized without certain self-denials. It is really confirmed that in conditions of the continued existence of structural problems in our economy, it is not possible to successfully stabilize the country's balance of payments along the lines of reducing the deficit, without self-denials and certain limitation measures. Hence the need in this situation to realize, consistently and effectively, the basic orientations of the social plan in connection with the elimination of material disproportions in development represents the main direction of activity aimed at overcoming the causes which have for a long time now been introducing instability into our economic development, and which arise from the constant rather large balance of payments deficit. Until we are able to overcome fundamentally causes of this kind, we will be accompanied by difficulties in connection with the country's balance of payments. This is why the degree of our responsibility in starting to carry out joint interests effectively and consistently by means of agreements, joint efforts and pooling of resources, is all the greater.

The fact that, after an exceptionally high growth in prices at the end of last year and at the start of this year, we have managed to eliminate it and strengthen the process of slowing prices down is positive. For the most part, this is as a result of direct social control measures taken which were based on the law on the prices system and their direct control. These measures were necessary and objectively unaboidable, for their basic aim was to protect against deeper and greater disturbances. They did not create the conditions for us to be able to deal with inflation by economic means, but they created space and time for a more basic implementation of the law on prices and better organization of the whole society, so that in accordance with the new systemic solutions it could act and permit the opening up of the process of regulating relations in prices on a self-management basis.

All this, of course, should contribute, in Djuranovic's assessment, to the creation of socioeconomic conditions in which a more rapid penetration of economic laws and a stronger influence of economic criteria and motives in the formation of prices will be permitted.

Therefore, it is of the greatest significance that in this respect, now and in the period directly ahead of us and especially next year, we resolutely, without hesitation, continue effectively and according to program with the policy and measures which will bring all aspects of consumption into line with realistic material possibilities, which will reduce pressure on income and also pressure on price rises.

We also need to devote special attention to the effectiveness and profitability of investments, which will eliminate the significant crisis point which, up to now, has been feeding inflation and is still doing so, so that in such conditions efforts aimed at strengthening all qualitative factors of economic activity, and especially at an increase in labor productivity, are increased. There is no doubt that the income-based linking of organizations of associated labor should play a decisive role in this, as well as the coordination of their development programs, strongly stimulating the division of labor and specialization, self-management, agreement-making on supplies of raw materials and reproduction materials and the pooling of foreign currency and development resources. Only in this way can we deal a decisive blow against tendencies toward autarchic development and the violation of the unity of the Yugoslav market, as well as against low labor productivity.

The president of the Federal Executive Council laid stress on the great importance of the timely adoption of economic policy measures for 1982. The Federal Executive Council is making a strenuous effort to ensure the adoption of all the economic policy measures by the end of this year. In the course of this, we shall be guided by the principle that all the measures which have yielded results should be retained next year also, and that it should be established which of the existing measures should be brought up to date and supplemented, and what new measures should be taken.

In this connection, we are proceeding from the view that our fundamental tasks next year will be to struggle for the stabilization of the country's balance of payments by further reducing the balance of payments deficit compared with that of this year, for the further pacification of prices, for the rate of growth of industrial production whose dynamism and structure are determined by the policy of stabilization, for higher food production and regular market supplies, and for further efforts aimed at preventing a fall in the standard of living. We shall be carrying out these tasks in highly unfavorable international economic conditions, and in a situation in which some of the difficulties of our internal development will be carried over from this year into the next. This will particularly apply to increased obligations concerning foreign debt repayments, insufficiently harmonized supply and demand levels, the well-known structural problems and the pressure exercised by the cost of living on the rate of growth of personal incomes. This makes it all the more necessary to achieve a higher degree of efficiency and quality in self-managing, agreement-seeking in associated labor, and in consultations between the republics and provinces on the joint economic policy measures in the most important sectors. This is the way in which the influence of partial interests and short-term motives should be reduced as far as possible by reaching accord on the basic, strategic questions on the policy of stabilization and by subordinating to these orientations anything that may be postponed, anything that can be given up temporarily, anything that is not vital.

Veselin Djuranovic stressed that the measures which must be adopted by the end of this year and the measures and orientations which were already being envisaged for next year must be in keeping with the situation in the international economic field, which is characterized by increasingly acute disruptions. The economic situation in the world is more and more complex. [words indistinct]

Monetary-financial instability is increasing. Economic cooperation is being confined to regional [words indistinct] The balance of payments deficit of a large number of countries, especially the developing countries which have to import oil, is increasing. There is also uncertainty concerning the energy crisis, which is not due to a significant degree to a rise in the price of oil, but to an exceptionally steep rise in the value of the dollar. This disrupts economic exchanges between numerous sectors [words indistinct]

As a significant importer of oil, gas and coking coal, Yugoslavia is affected from the point of view of the high costs caused by this and of new loans. This makes us particularly duty-bound to strive at all levels--in the basic organizations of associated labor, in all the sociopolitical communities, republics, provinces and the Federation--to prepare and consistently implement the program of economy measures, and introduce in good time legally defined restrictions in the consumption of energy in keeping with the existing conditions. All our working people and citizens should make a contribution in this connection.

Djuranovic stressed that the importance and role of the Zagreb International Autumn Fair has increased from year to year, because this major economic manifestation is becoming more and more extensive. [passage indistinct]

I believe that this year's fair will confirm the vitality of our economy and our system and will reflect the fact of our energy and our ability to cope successfully with the economic difficulties which affect us as a developing country. [passage indistinct]

The Zagreb fair, at which 3,060 exhibitors from Yugoslavia and 61 foreign countries are exhibiting their products this year, will remain open until 20 September.

PRISTINA RESPONDS TO ALBANIAN ATTACKS, DERISION

Radio Reply Reported

AU121430 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 81 p 7

[Text] Pristina, 9 Sep--Following the latest anti-Yugoslav attack in Albania--this time expressed in a PUNA article on self-management in Yugoslavia--Pristina Radio and Television carried a commentary in its newscast last night saying, among other things:

Tirana has once again raised its "sanctimonious caretaker's" voice about the fate and position of Yugoslavia's worker class. Intensifying further the anti-Yugoslav campaign of the leading circles with the article "The Workers' Class of Yugoslavia Pays Dearly for the Complete Collapse of Titoist Self-Management," the periodical PUNA (WORK), one of the links in the propaganda reaching us from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, not only appears and screams at the top of its voice from paternalistic positions but also allows itself to assume the role of arbiter of the socialist road, on this occasion by trying to take self-management in Yugoslavia as its target.

Moreover, blindly following the internally imposed will, the latest anti-Yugoslav voice has also assumed the role of giver of Enver-type "clear lessons" on the development of socialism.

Absurd

We have no intention of polemizing with this new loudspeaker, nor are we going to set forth the facts--because of the periodical PUNA--to defend our road of socialist self-management either before the world or before ourselves. The reason for this is that, in the final analysis, not only does every one of our citizens, but also many peoples throughout the world know very well and convincingly the results which Yugoslavia has achieved by following and building its own, autochthonous road of socialist development.

The aim of this new, anti-Yugoslav wave in Albania is clear--by attacking Yugoslavia's socialist road, Albania is trying to conceal its own internal weaknesses and divert its own peoples' attention and interest from the problems that Enver Hoxha's isolated fortress is encountering. However, we are deeply convinced that this new propaganda maneuver will have no influence on its own soil, not to speak about Yugoslavia and our country's worker class ranks.

In past decades, self-management has confirmed its historic importance, because the working people's social position has been substantially strengthened, primarily through self-management. On the other hand, scores of countries throughout the world are showing an increased interest in Yugoslav self-management as an objective need for the development of modern society. It goes without saying that this international assertion of our system is impressively strengthening the efforts of the working people and subjective forces of Yugoslavia to follow this road even more strongly.

The periodical PUNA attacks the Third Congress of Self-Managers, thus trying to undermine self-management in Yugoslavia. Its insinuations try to disparage everything attained by our self-management which, certainly and irrespectively of what is said in Albania, places our worker class in the position of a decision making class in society.

Among other things, the periodical PUNA writes: "The grave crisis Yugoslav self-management is passing through confirms the relevation and denouncement which the workers party and Enver Hoxha made at the very beginning about that self-management..." The absurdity of this statement is best confirmed by the greatest meeting of Yugoslavia's worker class: the Third Congress of Self-Managers held this June. This congress once again confirmed that Yugoslavia's worker class is united, steadfast and unwavering in further continuing Tito's road and great work.

To be "even more convincing," the Albanian periodical does not cease to insult our leadership. So that we understand each other, let us say: We are not surprised at this, but the voice of these attacks is extremely absurd, attacks that come precisely from a country facing deep structural problems. The voice of these attacks comes from a country that "gives itself the right" to "try to prove" the alleged existence of a new Yugoslav bourgeoisie and strives to justify before its own people the firm hand of Enver's power which suppresses and crushes all human dignity. These insinuations come from a country where Enver's rule has not even spared his closest war associates, his co-fighters.

Facts

And it is precisely Albania, which has been transformed into a country of purges, which attacks us allegedly as people who act according to the "law of the jungle," whereby the bigger fish swallows the smaller. Is not the reverse the case; is it not precisely this which has happened and is happening in Albania? We have always openly spoken about our problems as we are doing now. We have never said we are perfect, as the Albanian leadership precisely tries to present Albania. We have stressed and we are consciously stressing that we have problems. However, by pointing openly to these problems, we have also been creating the conditions for successfully eliminating them.

Concluding our commentary, which does not pretend to polemize with Albanian propaganda, we note that Pristina Radio and Television stresses that the attacks and machinations of the periodical PUNA, as the new loudspeaker of Stalinist teaching, cannot hold us back or divert us from the road of our strong determination fo finally and consistently implement Tito's great idea—socialist self-management.

Radio, TV Comment Cited

LD101348 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1317 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Pristina, 9 Sep (TANJUG)--By attacking Yugoslavia's socialist road, Albania is trying to hide its own internal shortcomings and draw its people's attention away from the problems besetting Enver Hoxha's isolated fortress-state.

This was said in a commentary last night on Pristina radio and television which focused on the latest attacks from Tirana against Yugoslavia and its self-management system. Speaking of an article published in the Albanian periodical PUNA (LABOUR) and headlined "The Yugoslav Working Class Is Dearly Paying for the Total Breakdown of Titoist Self-Management," Pristina radio and TV said, that Tirana had taken upon itself to dispense "unadulterated lectures" of the Hoxha type on the development of socialism."

The Pristina radio and TV commentary underlined that not only the citizens of Yugoslavia but also many peoples around the world are well-acquainted with the results Yugoslavia has achieved by following and building its own, autochthonous road in developing socialism.

"Over the past decades, self-management has affirmed its historic importance since it was actually through it that the social position of the working people was substantially strengthened. On the other hand, tens of countries are showing growing interest in Yugoslav self-management as a objective need in the development of contemporary society," the commentary says.

The Albanian periodical's claim that Yugoslav self-management is going through a serious crisis was refuted by Pristina radio and TV as absurd. The station underlined that the Third Congress of Yugoslav Self-Managers held last June "once again confirmed that the Yugoslav working class is one, unyielding and unshakable in continuing along Tito's road."

The Pristina commentary further notes that by insulting the Yugoslav leadership and alleging the existence of a new Yugoslav bourgeoisie the Albanian periodical "seeks to justify before its own people the strong arms of Enver Hoxha's power which totally oppresses human dignity. These insinuations come from the country in which Hoxha's power has not spared even his closest war associates, his fellow combatants."

The commentary stresses in conclusion that Yugoslavs always openly speak about their problems. "Unlike the Albanian leadership who claim that Albania is perfect, we have never said that we are perfect," notes the Pristina commentary.

MILITARY JOURNAL COMMENTS ON KOSOVO, ALBANIA

AU121840 Belgrade TANJUG in Russian 1010 GMT 11 Sep 81

["Causes and Consequences of the Kosovo Events"--TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)--The journal VOJNO DELO, issue No three, carries commentaries by several of our social and political workers under the general heading "Counterrevolution in Kosovo." We publish here excerpts from three of these commentaries:

"As a rsult of the establishment of the socialist self-management, the nations and nationalities have obtained all the necessary conditions and essential prerequisites to achieve a higher degree of freedom and for their full national and social development on the basis of equality," Fadilj Hodza [member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium] says in his commentary. "Socialist self-management has introduced new elements, forms and contents into our federalism. The 1974 SFRY Constitution and the 1974 constitutions of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces have perfected the relations and guaranteed the freedom and equality of all our peoples and nationalities together and individually and, accordingly, of all the republics and of the autonomous provinces as the elements of federalism which exist within the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

"In our political system, this equality and autonomy are being essentially widened, that is, endowed with an essentially new character. This does not imply any local withdrawal within oneself or some new form of autarky. What is involved here is our new Yugoslav community living under the conditions of complete equality without any subordinate or superior parts. In our self-managing community, there can be no exploitation of one people by another or of one republic by another just as there can be no exploitation of an autonomous province by a republic or vice versa: No one can be deprived of the right to make independent decisions on the results of his work. Our policy of national equality and of the brotherhood and unity of all peoples and nationalities, on the basis of the self-managing socialist federalism, has no alternative. This has been confirmed in practice.

"The enemy slogan 'Kosovo Republic' aims at denying the essence of our constitutional order and is, consequently, not only unacceptable but also deeply reactionary. The enemy launched that slogan as bait to deceive those whose knowledge of our system is poor, to shake the foundations of Yugoslavia and to sow mistrust and discord between the Albanian and Serbian population and, consequently, between the Albanian and all other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

"The enemy succeeded in penetrating certain youth and especially student circles and in threatening peace and order in Pristina and some other towns in Kosovo with his destructive and counterrevolutionary actions. The main blow was aimed at the basic achievements of our revolution, the brotherhood and unity and our community. The enemies spared no efforts to provoke mistrust and hatred between the Albanians on the one hand and the Serbs and Montenegrins on the other, and accordingly between the Albanian and other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia and to fan nationalist passions and chauvinist hatred.

"The situation that has been created in Kosovo places enormous tasks before and a great responsibility on all our subjective forces. The main task is to normalize the situation as soon as possible. For that purpose, we must even more persistently continue to develop mass political activities to comprehensively unmask the dark plans and goals of the internal and external enemies and prevent the criminal activities of all hostile elements.

"Precisely in the same manner we must also take all the necessary measures to eliminate as soon as possible all the numerous shortcomings and weaknesses that appeared in the work of the League of Communists and organs of authority of Kosovo, in the leadership of the province and communes. The political differentiation of cadres at all levels in the province is being carried out and will continue to be carried out for this purpose. We will not allow our youth to lose the true road. The greatest majority of our youth is oriented toward socialism. It has followed and will continue to follow Tito's road. Its happiness and its better future are in our socialist self-managing system, in the brotherhood and mutual trust with the freedom-loving Serbian people and the nationalities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

"We have no other road to our happiness and prosperity but the road of friendship, brotherhood and equality," Fadilj Hodza says in his VOJNO DELO commentary.

In his commentary, Vasilj Cerovic says among other things: "The basic shortcoming of the League of Communists of Kosovo and its leadership was in the fact that they underestimated the danger of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Their incorrect appraisals of the political situation and of the danger, emphasizing favorable symptoms and glossing over serious and specific hostile actions, were a logical consequence of that approach. The League of Communists and the organs of authority were making these appraisals routinely without verifying them in conformity with specific facts and with life. And that routine approach in political and social life revenges itself all the more if work continues in the old ways regardless of changes and contradictions and regardless of the conflicts that may surface."

Dr Muhamed Kesetovic says in his article: "The counterrevolution in Kosovo confirmed a certain lagging and poor development of socialist self-management as well as its misgivings. On the other hand, the intensified and uncontrolled relations between Kosovo and Albania were characterized by two aspects. First of all, the irredentists deliberately exploited on a long-term basis the uncontrolled trends in Kosovo and the naive appraisals and orientation of the Kosovo leading cadres to fan the anti-Yugoslav and especially the anti-Serbian feelings and spread the illusion about 'the greater Albania' as the only prospect for the Albanian people in general, and the Albanian people of Kosovo in particular.

"However, the intensified relations and contacts of the people from Albania also uncovered the other side of the coin to the citizens of Albania. Under the condition of the total isolation of that country from the rest of the world and of the European [word indistinct] of the Enver Hoxha regime and as a result of their contacts with Kosovo, the citizens of Albania began to learn to view the regime in their own country more critically. Fearing that their own power could be shaken as a result of that, the irredentists from Albania tried to undermine Yugoslavia's foundations by a counterrevolution in Kosovo. The brutality of disorders and the activation of a certain Stalinist and Cominformist arsenal against Yugoslavia as soon as it became clear that the counterrevolution has failed unambiguously confirm that..."

HERLJEVIC TOURS KOVOSO, MEETS SECURITY OFFICIALS

LD101521 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Text] Pristina, 10 Sep (TANJUG)--Franjo Herljevic, member of the LCY Central Committee and federal secretary for internal affairs, has visited the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and talked with representatives of the security organs and services. Also taking part in these talks were Viobran Stanojevic, Serbian secretary for internal affairs, and Mehmed Malici, provincial secretary for internal affairs of the SAP of Kosovo.

The secretaries for internal affairs visited a number of militia units in the province and the associated detachment consisting of members of the militia from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, all the socialist republics and the SAP of Vojvodina. Azem Vlasi, president of the Presidium of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference, spoke on this occasion to the members of these units.

During his stay in Kosovo Franjo Herljevic had talks with the leaders of the Trepca combine and the Stari Trg mine, and also with representatives of the Leposavic, Vicitrn, Srbica and Kosovska Mitrovica municipalities, about the activities and the results achieved in stabilizing the politico-security situation and about the degree of organization and further tasks of factors of social self-protection, as well as about the implementation of economic stabilization measures, about the functioning of self-management and the development of social activities.

The federal secretary also had talks with the sociopolitical leaders of Gnuilane. Herljevic went around the plants of the battery factory and the tobacco combine in the town, and then spoke to workers of these and other Gnuilane work collectives about the politico-security situation and about other topical issues of our socioeconomic development. Here he stressed that sociopolitical action in Kosovo is yielding positive results, but that the operation of counterrevolutionary elements continues to be in evidence. The federal secretary stressed that there is increasing consciousness that the operation of Albanian nationalists and irredentists and the subversive and propaganda activity from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian hostile emigres are directed against the vital interests of the nations and nationalities of the province, and against the progress which they have achieved in socialist self-managing Yugoslavia.

The federal and republican secretaries for internal affairs discussed the security and political situation in the SAP of Kosovo last night with Ali Sukrija, president of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo, and Veli Deva, president of the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee. Mehmed Malici, provincial secretary for internal affairs, also took part in the talks.

'HOSTILE' ACTIVITY CONTINUES IN PRIZREN, KOSOVO

AU091216 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Sep 81 p 3

[J. Markovic report]

[Text] Prizren, 4 Sep--At its enlarged session today the Prizren Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo discussed the current problems of the political and security situation in the commune. Dzevdet Hamza, member of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo, attended the session.

In his introductory report Jordan Kostic, secretary of the Prizren Communal Committee of the League of Communists, said among other things that that in some and especially village communities the enemy continues to assert his presence by writing slogans. The communists of the commune are waging an uncompromising struggle to unmask all hostile and counter-revolutionary forces. However, the differentiation process has not as yet reached the appropriate level because a certain number of communists continues to follow an opportunistic attitude.

The hostile slogans are frequently appearing in the villages of Dusanovo, Zur, Korisa, Zagradska Foca and Djum. Recently a group of persons engaged in writing hostile slogans was caught in Dusanovo. But this activity has not ceased and that shows that the organizers have not yet been discovered.

Reski Dauti, president of the Prizren Communal Committee of the League of Communists, noted that Tirana radio is daily spreading lies about the situation in Kosovo and that therefore we should inform our citizens more extensively about the real state of affairs.

BELGRADE WEEKLY REVIEWS DEVELOPMENTS IN KOSOVO

AU101640 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1601 6 Sep 81 pp 8-11

[Milos Vasic article: "Kosovo: Political Summing Up"]

[Excerpts] The first day of the new school year, which was awaited here in Pristina with mixed feelings, came and went routinely. Children came to school, were informed about the textbooks they would need for their grades. Certain textbooks, such as the Albanian grammar texts from Tirana for the seventh and eighth grades of primary school, are no longer in school programs and certain other textbooks will look different than in the past.

The Kosovo schools and university faculty buildings have been renovated for the new school year as much as possible. Some 400,000 students, of whom 46,000 started school for the first time, got 30 new school buildings with 124 classrooms and 100 laboratories, while 38 school buildings have been renovated or adapted. Some 320,000 pupils are attending the primary schools and they will be taught by over 13,000 teachers. The secondary schools have 86,000 students. They will be taught by some 3,500 teachers.

This year, 77.6 million dinars were invested in student facilities in Kosovo. Student dormitories, restaurants and other projects were built with this money.

New student dormitories were built in Orahovac with 100 beds; in Kosovska Kamenica with 80 beds; in Prizren with 300 beds and in Pristina with 1,050 beds. The dormitories in Djakovica and Kosovska Mitrovica were renovated; and the Kosovska Mitrovica dormitory also has a new restaurant seating 300 persons. The Pristina student center has a new restaurant serving meals in seven lines which is capable of providing 10,000 meals a day.

"Family Differentiation"

It appears that the political factors in Kosovo are determined to prevent a repetition of last springs' disorders at any price. During the summer, a program of talks and meetings with pupils, students and their parents was conducted throughout the province. The talks were conducted by political workers and university teachers.

All these measures, including also the program of "family differentiation," that is, of warning parents that they will be responsible for their children's behavior in school, represent a certain guarantee that this school year will be more peaceful than the previous one. However, without the full cooperation of the teaching cadre, this guarantee could easily lose its effectiveness.

In addition to beginning classes with the completed and renovated student center, the Kosovo University also now knows precisely how many students it will have: 28,508. It will also have 661 lecturers and 361 assistants.

So far, out of nearly 3,500 communists at the university, 365 were expelled for their passive attitude, and only 19 for participating in the demonstrations. It appears that there is still more work to be done in this connection, since, as we have learned, the working group for settling the situation at the university, composed of the highest party and state organs of the province, is still working.

As far as the political situation in general is concerned, judging by the number of meetings and the absence of the enemy's public activity, it is peaceful and working. It is assessed, though, that the enemy has not yet been ideologically defeated, that the phenomena of opportunism and silence still exist, and that relations among the nationalities are still cool. "Today no one is capable of making a precise assessment as to when the enemy will finally be defeated, and this makes the security situation in the province even more difficult," Bahri Oruci said, adding that it would be good "perhaps to strengthen the province's security service with the most professional cadres from throughout the country."

The conclusions of the commissions formed to analyze the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo are still not known. According to a political worker from Pristina, some 500-600 people have emigrated from Pristina since the demonstrations.

The repressive administrative measures, resulting from the events of March and April, have ended in a series of some 30 trials in all district courts throughout the province. In the period ending on 31 August, the total number of 245 persons were sentenced to serve up to 15-year prison terms. Their acts were mostly described as a counterrevolutionary attacks on the foundations of the SFRY socialist self-managing social system and security (chapter 15 of the SFRY criminal code). According to the assessment of Tomislav Cucurevic, provincial public prosecutor, "the trials had their effect."

Alarming Losses

As regards the economic situation, Kosovo completely shares Yugoslavia's fate, even more so. In the first 5 months of this year, the Kosovo economy's losses totaled 1,313,000,000 dinars, or two and a half times more than in the same period of last year.

Exports cover 46.7 percent of imports, and in the convertible currency area barely 17.5 percent. The overall income of the economy increased 44.8 percent as compared with the same period of last year, production costs increased 46.3 percent, while personal incomes increased 46.7 percent. So far the province has given up on investment projects valued at 16,733,000,000 dinars, and it has postponed investment projects worth 3,583,000,000 dinars.

The report on the analyses of the 6-month economic operations, which the Presidium of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation will discuss on Saturday, primarily blames the so-called subjective factors for the overall unfavorable financial results of the Kosovo economy: poor work discipline, lack of organization and labor productivity, which is 30 percent lower than in Yugoslavia as a whole.

Naturally, the assistance of the whole country will be welcome in Kosovo. Croatia's economy should invest, by association labor and pooling resources, 4 billion dinars in the Kosovo economy. In the next 5 years, Serbia's economy will invest 11.87 billion dinars in plants in Kosovo. The already adopted programs being offered by Serbia's economy worth 16.6 billion dinars should provide some 8,000 new jobs. In the 1976-1980 period, Serbia invested nearly 12 billion dinars in the Kosovo economy. To this sum one should add the money from the federal fund for the development of the economically underdeveloped republics and the Province of Kosovo (28.5 billion dinars), as well as various concessions and various kinds of assistance. The additional funds alone for financing the social and other services totaled some 14 billion dinars in the past medium-term period.

On 30 September 1980, the state of investments in Kosovo was, to a great extent due to the aforementioned funds, as follows: 5,352 projects worth, according to the preliminary estimates, some 355.5 billion dinars, or 29.2 percent of all investments in Yugoslavia. Most of the money was invested in energy projects, nonferrous metallurgy and the basic branches of the economy, and these investments still have to yield results because most projects will be commissioned this or next year. The number of these employed increased some 12 percent faster than the average Yugoslav increase.

KOSOVO UNIVERSITY COMMUNISTS REORGANIZE WORK

AU121758 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 81 p 3

[Z.Z. Report]

[Summary] Pristina, [no Date] September--One of the basic issues that is now being more and more frequently discussed at the Kosovo University in Pristina deals with the method of organizing party life at the university. "The insufficient and ineffective work of the League of Communists at the university was one of the main reasons that the enemy found favorable ground there for his activities. Following many criticisms of the entire work of the League of Communists at the university, personnel changes were made in the action conference as well as in some basic organizations of the League of Communists at the faculties."

There are about 4,000 members of the League of Communists at the Kosovo University, organized into 77 basic organizations with an average of 40 members each [figures as published]. However, there are some basic organizations which have even as many 100 members each. It has now been proposed that the League of Communists at the university be organized into smaller basic organizations to ensure efficiency. Sefedin Batali, member of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, says that, as regards the past work of the League of Communists at the university, the problem was not in the method of work but "in indolence and in the fact that the individual members of the League were primarily interested in winning their titles." Furthermore, prior to the counterrevolutionary activities of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists, "the League of Communists at the university was insufficiently linked with other party structures and even its communication with the Provincial Committee and its organs was poor."

In the elections that the League of Communists at the university will hold in October, "care will be taken especially to ensure that persons with greater experience will be elected to the leaderships of the basic organizations of the League of Communists. At the same time it is insisted that special attention must be devoted to organizing the party life and work in the student center which houses 1/4 of all university students." According to Sefki Bitici, president of the student center provisional organ of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, every faculty will have its basic organization on the floor or in the building housing its students. These basic organizations will naturally be linked to the basic organizations at their appropriate faculties.

In view of the past inactivity of the organizations of the Federation of Socialist Youth at the university it is understandable why special attention is now being devoted to reviving their activity in the coming school year. It is proposed that no basic youth organization at the university should have more than 100 members. A 63-member university conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth with a 1-year term of office will be elected during the elections which will be held from 1 to 20 October. The Presidium of the conference will have 15 members who will elect the president for a 1-year term of office.

SERBIA TO INTRODUCE SECOND STAGE OF POWER SAVING

AU031954 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] As we have already announced, the assembly of the self-managing interest community of Serbia's electricity generating industry adopted a decision today on introducing the second stage of economy in electricity consumption.

The measures taken in the past have not yielded the desired results. In addition, the Morava-One thermoelectric powerplant will undergo a 15-day overhaul. It is also uncertain whether the Obrenovac thermoelectric powerplant will begin fully operating by 1 December. Although the electricity generating industry claims that everything possible will be done to complete the overhaul in the scheduled time, the possibility exists that the time limit will be exceeded because certain parts are being repaired abroad. All this has contributed to stricter measures being taken against undisciplined consumers.

The announced measures will be taken primarily against those consumers which exceed the planned weekly consumption of electricity. These consumers will have their electricity deliveries reduced in the following week by the quantity that was exceeded in the preceding week. The restrictions will not apply to the railroad transport organizations, the coal mines and all underground mines, as well as the building sites of energy projects.

It is certain that citizens, too, must contribute to economizing in electricity consumption. So that the electricity is not disconnected for 8 hours, it is better to switch off one more light or to use the boiler more economically.

It is not necessary to discuss the damage which such disconnections of electricity would cause in the economy, nor it is necessary to stress what it would mean for a large city if elevators, heating or refrigerators would not operate for 8 hours.

BRIEFS

ELECTRICITY CUTBACK--Titograd, 8 Sep (TANJUG)--As a result of the very unfavorable electricity situation in the republic, the republican Secretariat for the Economy today decided to introduce the second level of restriction on electricity consumption. On the basis of this decision, which will take effect on 9 September, all consumers will receive 10 percent less electricity. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 8 Sep 81 LD]